

ਮਾਸਕਾ ਕੀ ਜਾਤ ਨਾਹੈ ਏਰੈ ਪਰਿ ਚਲਾਇ।

# SECULAR PERCEPTIONS IN SIKH FAITH

ਮਾਨਸਾ ਅਨਾਹਿਤ ਨੂਰ ਉਪਾਇਆ ਸੁਰਤ ਰੇਖਾ ਭਰਿਓ

ਗਾਇਕਾ ਏਰੈ ਅਸਮ ਏਰੈ ਜਾਤ।

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ਏਰੈ ਪਿਛਾ ਮਾਨਸਾ ਏਰੈ ਸੇਧ।

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ਏਰੈ ਸੇਧ ਮਾਨਸਾ ਏਰੈ ਸੇਧ।









## SECULAR PERCEPTIONS IN SIKH FAITH



# **SECULAR PERCEPTIONS IN SIKH FAITH**

**K. S. DUGGAL**



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*To*  
**NIRMALJEET SINGH**  
*who is no more*

*The paths may be two  
but the goal is the same*

GURU NANAK

# CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	9
I An Apostle of Amity and Integration	13
II In the Footsteps of the Master	21
III The Saint-Soldiers	31
IV Birth of the Khalsa	43
V The Word Became the Guru	53
VI Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Secularism	62
VII Sikhs in the Freedom Struggle	71
VIII Casting in Lot with Secular India	84
IX Commitment to Punjabi	90
X Afterword	95
XI Role of the Punjabi Writer	100
XII Glossary	105
XIII Index	109



## INTRODUCTION

Secularism is defined variously by various people. However, it is certainly not "rejection of all forms of religious faith". As understood by us in secular India, it consists in equal respect for all religions.

Mahatma Gandhi, father of the nation, was a staunch Hindu and yet he studied and venerated other religions whose hymns were regularly recited at his prayer-meetings. These included Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism and Sikhism. Jawaharlal Nehru professed himself a non-believer and yet he visited places of worship with the apparent devotion of his countrymen. He was invested with the sacred thread as a child and Vedic ceremonies were duly observed at his cremation and after when he was no more. Mrs. Indira Gandhi's spiritual thirst carries her to wherever she can find peace of mind, whether it is a Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or any other religious place of pilgrimage or even holy men or women.

As a people, we are wedded to secularism notwithstanding any faith we may subscribe to personally.

Sikhism is the most modern, the most recent and the most scientific faith amongst the great religions of the world. Its founder, Guru Nanak, had the advantage of having drunk deep at the founts of all the sacred religious lore. A life-long pilgrim, he visited the ancient Hindu temple at Puri in the east, Holy Mecca in the west, the ascetics at Manasarovar deep into the Himalayas in the north and Buddhist shrines in Sri Lanka. Venerated equally by the Hindus and the Muslims in the Punjab, he is still remembered as *Baba Nanak Shah faqir* {Hindu *da guru*, Muslim *da pir*. Guru Nanak's times had the harrowing experience of an invasion of the Punjab by Babar. He indulged in murder and rape and destruction

of property most recklessly. The poet in Guru Nanak condemned the barbarities committed by the Mughal forces fearlessly. For a moment, it seems, he revolted even against divine justice. Said he—

*Aiti mar pai kurlanen !*

*Tainki dard na aiya ?*

(Such suffering and such wailing !

Did it not hurt you?)

(Asa)

And yet never, never in his voluminous writing did Guru Nanak utter a word against Islam. He decried the Turks and the Pathans who attacked his country but never the Muslims who were as much his countrymen as Hindus and others. On the other hand, while undertaking a pilgrimage to Holy Mecca, he is said to have donned the blue robes of the Muslim pilgrims—

*Neel bastar lai kapde pehre*

*Turk Pathani amal kiya*

(He wore the blue robes

The way a Turk or a Pathan does.)

(Asa di Var)

Born a Hindu, communal harmony was a creed with Guru Nanak. All his life he propagated it vigorously.

Guru Gobind Singh, the creator of the Khalsa, had the unique distinction of combining in himself the guru and the disciple. He baptized the Sikhs and then sat at their feet to be baptized by them. A democrat to the core of his heart, many a time he declared that he owed all his glory to his people (*Inhi ki kripa se saje ham hain*). At the close of his ministry, he invested his authority of a guru, both temporal and secular, in the *panth*, the five elected representatives — *the Panj Piaras*.

The current tension amongst Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab though unfortunate in the extreme is no new phenomenon. It raises its head periodically when the mischievous elements have the better of it. A few decades

ago, the Sikhs had to shout from the house-tops—*Hum Hindu nahin hain* (We are not Hindus). It was to ward off a real or imaginary attack on their identity. At that time as great a poet and patriot as Puran Singh had to come forward and say—

“The great Hindu culture and its innate influence on Sikh culture cannot be denied.

“The Sikh is in no sense an alien, he is born in India, he has the glorious heritage of Indian culture, he cannot be without Prahlad and Mira. Guru Gobind Singh sent his Sikhs to Banaras to study Sanskrit. He is said to have translated *Krishna Lila* himself.

“Our mother-country is India, our language is derived from Sanskrit, but we are modern in outlook, though also ancient as Prahlad and Krishna.

“In view of the political solidarity of India, it is mischievous for anyone to suggest that we are not Hindus, and not equally Muslims. It is mischievous to multiply the points of difference with the Hindus, which are not fundamental.”

What seems to bother the Sikhs currently is again the question of their identity. There are not a few front-rank intellectuals in the community who fear that with the onslaught of modernism, the Sikhs may be swept off their feet and lose their identity. Nothing could be farther from the truth. If the gatherings of the devotees at the Sikh Gurdwaras are any indication, the faith in the Sikh way of life is growing every day. We have amongst the Sikhs today people who would be willing to make any sacrifice for the preservation of the Sikh tradition. Gurdwara Bangla Sahib in Delhi, which used to be a quiet shrine a few decades ago, is crowded these days with devotees at all hours. And this is true of other places of Sikh pilgrimage and shrines in any part of the country.

The Sikhs have for the first time in history a State in

which they are in a majority with Punjabi as its language, something which even the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh could not claim for the community. It is time to make the best of it rather than fritter away the fund of the community's energies in vain pursuits.

I wrote this little volume in a hurry to catch up with the mounting tension in the Punjab starting actually with the Akalis' clash with the Nirankaris at Amritsar and then the trouble spreading to embroil the entire State and inevitably taking a communal shape in the familiar old pattern.

The Sikhs are a "spirit-born people" belonging to a heritage in which any community can take pride. They are hard-working and enterprising. They are friendly and forward-looking, imbued with a rare spirit of self-sacrifice. It is their endeavour mainly that has helped the country turn the corner in food production. Guarding a sensitive border, they are the virtual sword-arm of India. Their contribution in the freedom struggle is unique. Their sacrifices in various conflicts with the intruders in independent India whether they were from the north-east or the north-west are legendary. They are always in the forefront of every national endeavour. It hardly becomes a people with their great past and no less glorious present to tarnish their image with narrow and parochial considerations.

A part of this text was serialised in *The Tribune*, the premier Punjab daily, on a weekly basis and from the response received, it can claim in a modest sense to have made its contribution to making the Punjabi intelligentsia aware of the issues at stake. It is the negation of what the Khalsa was created for and the values the adherents of the great Sikh Gurus have upheld in the annals of history.

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K. S. DUGGAL



# I

## AN APOSTLE OF AMITY AND INTEGRATION

Baba Nanak, the great man of God  
Is the guru of the Hindu  
And the *pir* of the Musalman.

This is how the Hindus and the Muslims in the Punjab came to remember Guru Nanak. It is said, when he died, the Hindus wanted to cremate him and the Muslims insisted on burying him. It is no wonder since during his lifetime while he visited Hardwar, Varanasi and Puri as a devout Hindu would do, he also went on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina donning the blue garments of a Turk or a Pathan. He made friends with *Siddhas*—Hindu ascetics—and had prolonged dissertations with them. He also cultivated Muslim divines and mystics and discoursed with them on the ways of man and God. For his constant companions he had Mardana, a Muslim *rabab*-player, and Bala, a Hindu, who is said to be the author of his earliest biography called *Janam Sakhi Bhai Bala*. He knew Persian and wrote poetry in it. He was equally proficient in Sanskrit and could claim scholarship in the Vedas and the Shastras. His was indeed an integrated personality the like of which it is difficult to imagine.

Even as a child, Guru Nanak started rejecting one after another the superstitious practices, meaningless ceremonies and antiquated rituals current in the society of his day. He annoyed not a few including his own father.

He exasperated the Hindu priest and was the despair of the Muslim *maulvi*. At that early age, his own sister Bibi Nanaki and the Muslim chief of the village, Rai Bular, noticed the divine in Guru Nanak. It is still being debated amongst theologians as to who was the first to give allegiance to the Master—his sister Bibi Nanaki or Rai Bular, the village headman.

Guru Nanak condemned hypocrisy and ritualism whether he found it in Hinduism or Islam. He believed in clean, honest living with faith in one God. He looked around and said, 'There is no Hindu; there is no Musalman.' He wanted Hindus to be good Hindus and Muslims to be good Muslims. He insisted that Islam or Hinduism did not consist in its exterior forms and formalism alone.

According to a custom prevalent among caste Hindus, Guru Nanak was to be invested with a sacred thread. It is a sacrament like baptism amongst the Christians signifying spiritual rebirth of a Hindu. When the family priest approached the young Nanak, he refused to wear the 'cotton thread'. He had no faith in the ritual. He would have nothing to do with the thread which must wear out sooner or later. Said Guru Nanak:

Let mercy be the cotton, contentment the thread,  
 Contenance the knot and truth the twist,  
 O Priest ! if you have such a sacred thread,  
 Do give it to me.

It'll not wear out, nor get soiled, nor be burnt,  
 nor lost.

Says Nanak, blessed are those who wear a thread  
 like this.  
 (Asa)

Once the Nawab of Sultanpur and his *qazi* invited Guru Nanak to say prayers with them. Guru Nanak had no objection. He was willing to keep company with those

who had faith in God. However, when they commenced the prayers, Guru Nanak stood aside and watched them with a smile on his lips. As soon as the prayers were over, the *qazi* asked Guru Nanak, 'Why didn't you join us in prayers after agreeing to do so?' Guru Nanak told him politely, 'I did not join you because all the while you were saying the prayers, your mind was in your silly left loose back at your place. You feared that she might fall into the well in your courtyard.' The *qazi* heard it and was silenced. 'In that case, you could have given me your company,' said the Nawab. 'But you were buying horses in Kabul,' observed Guru Nanak. The Nawab realised the truth of it. At this Guru Nanak said :

Let God's grace be the mosque, and devotion the  
prayer-mat,

Let *Quran* be the good conduct,

Let modesty be compassion, good manners fasting,  
You should be a Musalman the like of this.

Let good deeds be your Kaaba and truth be your  
mentor.

Your *Kalma* be your creed and prayer.

God would then vindicate your honour.

(Majh)

It is no wonder that well-meaning Hindus and Muslims both held Guru Nanak in great esteem. The Muslim treated him as *Waliallahi*—a beloved of God—and until the other day a large number of Hindus of the Punjab had at least one child in the family baptised as a Sikh, following the teachings of Guru Nanak.

The means of communication being what they were during his time, Guru Nanak undertook several journeys to the north, south, east and west with a view to carrying his message of brotherhood of man and unity of God by word of mouth. In the east, he went as far as Nagaland. In the south, he visited even Sri Lanka and Lakshadweep.

In the north, he crossed Kashmir and penetrated deep into the Himalayas upto Manasarovar, meeting ascetics who had withdrawn themselves from the world. And in the west, there is historical evidence that he went as far as Baghdad. All these arduous journeys helped in fostering understanding and amity. Wherever he went, he is remembered and revered even today.

While journeying towards east, Guru Nanak is said to have visited Gorakhmata, a shrine devoted to Gorakh Nath, not very far from Pilibhit. The ascetics here had a fierce argument with Guru Nanak. They were, at last, completely won over. Their centre came to be known as Nanakmata. It is a place of pilgrimage even today. This is what Guru Nanak told them :

Asceticism doesn't lie in the ascetic robes,  
Nor in the walking staff, nor in the ashes.  
Asceticism doesn't lie in the earring,  
Nor in the shaven head, nor in blowing a conch.  
Asceticism lies in remaining pure amidst impurities.  
(Suh)

On his way back from Assam, Guru Nanak returned via Orissa visiting the famous temple of Jagannath at Puri. It is one of the most important places of Hindu pilgrimage. Guru Nanak found that the priests of the temple attached more importance to rituals than to true faith in God. They made elaborate arrangements to propitiate the deity with trays full of burning candles, flowers and all sorts of perfumery a number of times a day. They called it *arati*. But none of the devotees joining the ritual had his heart in it. Guru Nanak withdrew from the empty ritual and, sitting outside the temple, started singing, Mardana accompanying him on the *rabab* :

The sky is the tray,  
The sun and the moon are the lights

And stars the jewels.  
 Sandalwood's fragrance is the incense,  
 The wind is the fly-whisk  
 And all the forests your flowers.  
 What a wonderful *arati* it is !

(Dhanasri)

In the meantime the priests and pilgrims had collected around Guru Nanak and they were thrilled to hear him sing the praises of God.

When Guru Nanak arrived at Mecca, he felt tired. It had been a long and strenuous journey to the holy city. He fell asleep and it so happened that he slept with his feet towards Kaaba, the holy shrine, instead of his head, which was the accepted practice. At midnight Jiwan, the watchman, on his rounds noticed this and was scandalised to find a pilgrim with his feet pointing towards the House of God. 'How dare you lie with your feet pointing towards God?' he shouted. He was about to lay his corrective hands on Nanak when the Guru woke up. 'My good man, I am weary after a long journey. Kindly turn my feet in the direction where God is not.' Jiwan was stunned. 'Where God is not !' His head started whirling. 'Where God is not !' He saw His abode in all the four directions. He had lifted Nanak's feet and rather than turning them around, his head fell on them. He started kissing them. He washed Guru Nanak's feet with his tears. The rest of the pilgrims and the holy men of the shrine were delighted to have Guru Nanak amidst them. They asked him many questions 'I am neither a Hindu nor a Musalman,' said Guru Nanak. 'Who is superior of the two?' the pilgrims collected around him wished to know. Guru Nanak replied, 'Without good deeds, neither is good.' The Guru laid stress on the love of God, humility, prayer and truthful living. He then recited a hymn in Persian :



Unlike Mahavira and Buddha, Nanak was not born to affluent parents. He was the son of a village *patwari*, at the lowest rung of the revenue hierarchy. While playing in the company of children he always made friends with the poor and the so-called low castes. After his Revelation at Sultanpur, to whomsoever came to him, his message was simple: One must work and share one's earnings with others and an active life is superior to a contemplative life.

His sympathies were always with the poor and the have-nots. He suffered with suffering humanity. During Babar's invasion of India, Guru Nanak witnessed frightful killings. The poet in him seems to have revolted against divine justice. Guru Nanak has left a remarkable piece of poetry describing the barbarous attack and the sufferings of the people of the Punjab :

He occupied Khurasan and subdued Hindustan,  
God ! Don't You blame Yourself for having sent  
the Mughal like a doom?  
Seeing such killing and wailing, didn't it hurt You,  
O Lord ?  
You are the lone Creator of all.  
If an aggressor were to kill an aggressor  
I wouldn't complain.  
But when a fierce lion falls on a poor herd of cattle  
The master must take the blame....

(A58)

It needed no small courage to say all this about a foreign invader who was there to settle down and lay the foundations of an empire. *Babarvani* has a number of other compositions also which condemn both the invader and the Godless, corrupt Hindu society of the day that had invited trouble on itself :

They who had beautiful locks and the vermilion dye  
   in the parting of their hair  
 Have their tresses shorn with scissors and dust  
   thrown on their heads.  
 They wouldn't remember Ram  
 They can't take the name of Allah now.

(Asa)

During the close of his ministry, Guru Nanak settled down at Kartarpur on the banks of the river Ravi. It was a new township established by the Guru himself on a tract of land placed at his disposal by one of his followers. It is said that Kartarpur was the first ever experiment in community living. They tilled the land, Guru Nanak included, and ate from a common kitchen. Khushwant Singh observes in his *History of the Sikhs* :

"The *bhaktas* had paid only lip service to the ideal of casteless society, Nanak took practical steps to break the vicious hold of caste by starting a free community kitchen—*Guru Ka Langar*—in all centres and persuading his followers, irrespective of their castes, to eat together."

Guru Nanak identified himself with the lowest of the low. He refers to himself as 'Nanak, the servant', 'Nanak, the low-caste', 'Nanak, the humble'. Integration is best ensured when the man at the top starts from the bottom. Says Guru Nanak :

Among the low, let my caste be the lowest.  
 Of the lowly, let me the lowliest be.  
 O Nanak, let such be the men I know,  
 With such men let me keep company.  
 Why must I try to emulate the great?

(Majh)



## II

### IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE MASTER

He ascended the throne of Guru Nanak,  
The Guru's spirit entering the disciple.

This is how Bhai Gurdas, one of the earliest Sikh chroniclers, describes Guru Angad's installation as the second Sikh Guru. It is believed that on being named a successor, the divine light of Guru Nanak travelled to all those who came after him one after another. Accordingly, they styled themselves as Nanak, some of them adopting it even as their *nom de plume*.

Looking back, Guru Angad found that he had inherited a magnificent tradition of communal amity and understanding.

Unlike other *bhaktas*, *sufis* and saints, Guru Nanak did not take a simplistic view of communal harmony. He did not intend a superficial synthesis of Hinduism and Islam. It was not a case of revaluation, rejecting some and accepting some other features in either faith and then amalgamating them. More than horizontal intermingling which had its own virtues, Guru Nanak laid stress on vertical elevation of society and spiritual coalescing of the two communities. He wanted Hindus to be good Hindus and Muslims to be good Muslims. Wherever he went, he set up *manjis*, where his followers could congregate regularly, both Hindus and Muslims, and remember God.

Guru Nanak had also rejected Sanskrit and Persian for communication. He opted for the language of the people with a fair dose of local dialects. Adoption of

their language brought him closer to the people. Propagation of the mother-tongue obliterated differences in the various communities and provided them with a common platform. A common language can be a mighty cementing force. The Hindus were drifting away to Sanskrit and the Muslims were taking to Persian more and more. *Bhaktas* like Guru Nanak helped stem this tendency. The gulf was bridged to a great extent. The protagonists of the Bhakti Movement evolved a link language called *sadhukari*, spoken and popularised by the saint-poets in mediaeval times.

Not only this, Guru Nanak adopted poetic forms that were popular with the people at large. Their metres and measures followed the folksongs and folk ballads that the common people were familiar with. Guru Nanak tried *Siharfi*, *Baramah*, *Kafi* and several other moulds popular with Muslims as also *Chhanda*, *Ashtapadi*, *Doha* and *Sloka* in the best tradition of Hindu classical poetry.

He drew his similes from the everyday life of the common man. He employed familiar symbols like the spinning-wheel, the bride and the parents' house, etc., etc., though with a freshness of approach.

Since it is easy to remember poetry, easier to convey it by word of mouth, all his writings that Guru Nanak has bequeathed to his followers are in verse. Not only this, almost all his poetry can be sung to music. The text conforms to specific *ragas* prevalent in the Hindustani style of music of the day. Where Guru Nanak followed better-known musical forms of folk ballads, he made it a point to mention the fact in the beginning of the composition that it was designed to be sung in such and such tune in the style of such and such ballad. For instance, in the opening of *Asa di Var*, a longish work sung by the Sikh community every morning as a divine service, it is stated :

"The *Var* with *slokas* is written by the First Guru and should be sung to the air of *Tunda Asraja*."

Guru Nanak combined in himself a recluse, an ascetic and a family man who married and had children. He was the fond brother of a sister. He was a dutiful husband. He was a loving father. And yet he was unduly attached to none. When the time came to nominate his successor, Guru Nanak felt that neither of his sons qualified for the honour. Here was the greatest test of his life. His sons aspired to succeed him. One of them had never married and lived the life of an ascetic. Guru Nanak did not approve of it. He attached greater importance to normal family life. He, therefore, ordained one of his followers, who had come to stay with him, as the next Guru. Lehna by name, he was blessed by Nanak with his *ang* (hand) and he became Guru Angad.

One Malu Shah, an orderly in the Mughal army, came to Guru Angad for spiritual guidance. The Guru was aware that the Mughals were in a bad way those days. He advised Malu Shah to remain loyal to his master and serve his King devotedly, more so in his adversity.

Humayun had succeeded Babar on the Mughal throne but he was soon overpowered by Sher Shah. As he was being hounded out, he came over to Khadur to seek Guru Angad's blessings. It so happened that, when he arrived, the Guru was sitting in a congregation listening to hymns being sung by the devotees. The Mughal King had, therefore, to wait for a while. Humayun felt slighted and losing his temper put his hand on the hilt of his sword, threatening to attack the Guru. Guru Angad remained unperturbed and calm as ever. He chided Humayun: "When you should have used the sword, you did not, rather you ran away from the battle-field like a coward. Here with a dervish, you show off, threatening to attack unarmed devotees engaged in prayer." Humayun heard it and was full of remorse. He wished to be pardoned.

Guru Angad reminded him about Guru Nanak's prophecy.

"They come in '78 and go in '97. Another man of sword will also arise."<sup>\*</sup>

The Guru told him that he must leave the country in his own interest and as foreseen by the Great Guru he would return to his throne shortly thereafter. History is witness to it that Humayun attacked India in due course and regained his throne.

Guru Angad was fond of children and took great interest in them. He collected children, organised games for them and distributed prizes. He devoted equal attention to their proper education. He insisted that children should be taught in their mother-tongue and to that end he is said to have simplified and codified the Gurmukhi script, and popularised its use amongst the Sikhs. This, perhaps, is the most important contribution of Guru Angad. While the origin of Gurmukhi script continues to be disputed, there is no doubt that Guru Angad gave a lead in making an extensive use of the script in his time. He got a number of copies of Guru Nanak's *Bani* made in the Gurmukhi script consisting of 35 letters.

When the time came for Guru Angad to name his successor, he installed Guru Amar Das, one of his devotees, as the next Guru. Guru Angad's two sons didn't like the decision. They had their own ambitions. Guru Angad told them that the honour must go to the one who deserved it most.

Said Satta, a bard of the Guru's household :

"The brotherhood was delighted to see  
Guru Nanak's umbrella over Amar Das's head."

<sup>\*</sup>The prophecy relates to the Mughals occupying India in Samvat 1578 (1521 A. D.) and departing in Samvat 1597 (1540 A. D.). The monarch who was driven out was Humayun and the "man of the sword" referred to is Sher Shah, who had thrown him out.

He was 73 when Guru Amar Das was ordained. A mere devotee who prided himself on being the humblest servant of the Guru, living where the Guru desired him to live, doing what the Guru asked him to do, he was raised to the supreme status of the Master who had to provide leadership to innumerable followers far and near.

Guru Nanak had laid stress on *sangat*. The Sikhs must congregate both in the morning and evening and sing praises of the Almighty. Guru Amar Das streamlined the practice by setting up 22 *manjis* (dioceses) formally presided over by devout Sikhs. With a view to spreading Guru Nanak's message far and wide, he trained a band of 146 apostles, of whom 52 were women, to go to various parts of the country and attend to the spiritual needs of the Guru's followers.

However, Guru Amar Das's most distinguished contribution was the concept of *pangat*. The Sikhs must sit and eat together. He set up a free kitchen where everyone, irrespective of caste and creed, was welcome. In fact, the Guru made it obligatory on all those seeking his audience first to eat in the *langar* and then go to see him. This helped in ridding Hindu society of the evil of the caste system and brought the Hindus and the Muslims closer and fostered communal harmony.

The Guru also tried to eradicate social evils like *sati*, which required a Hindu widow to burn herself on her husband's funeral pyre or the widow remaining unmarried for the rest of her life after the death of her husband.

As the message of Guru Nanak spread, more and more people visited Goindwal, the city established by Guru Amar Das. It became a flourishing town and a number of Muslim dignitaries also came and settled there.

During one of his visits to Lahore, Emperor Akbar was crossing the river Beas. He decided to make a slight detour and visit Goindwal to pay homage to Guru Amar Das about whom he had heard a great deal. To see the

Guru, even the Emperor had to partake of food in the *langar* like any other visitor. It is said that the Emperor sat with the lowliest of the low and ate with them and then had an audience with the Guru. Akbar was highly impressed at the meeting and wished to grant a *jagir* to the Guru for the maintenance of the free kitchen. The Guru would not agree to it. 'We start afresh every morning. Nothing is saved for the next day,' said the Guru. 'The rations are brought by the devotees daily and are distributed among them every day.' The Emperor insisted upon making the grant in appreciation of the great humanitarian work being done by the Guru. Since the Guru would not accept any favour from the King, Akbar thought of a way out. 'I can, at least, present a few villages to your daughter, Bhani, who is as much my daughter, as a wedding gift.' The Guru could not decline it and the King had his way. It was at this spot that Amritsar, the renowned Sikh centre, came to be established in due course.

It is said that the orthodox Hindus complained to the King that Guru Amar Das was violating their time-honoured practices by rejecting Sanskrit and decrying their rituals and religious practices, etc. The Guru listened to the King's suggestions in the interest of communal harmony and agreed to visit Hindu places of pilgrimage. He found God everywhere. The King, on his part, went out of his way to exempt the Guru and whosoever followed him from the pilgrim tax. It is said, wherever the Guru went, he attracted large crowds. The Guru's slogan, *Sat Nanak Sri Wahguru*, resounded all over.

'You are Nanak, you are Lehna, you are Amar Das,' Satta the bard sang when Guru Ram Das succeeded as the fourth Sikh Guru of the Sikhs. Guru Ram Das's ministry was short-lived, a period of seven years only. After he had been ordained as the Guru, Guru Ram Das

who was the son-in-law of Guru Amar Das started building a new township on the *jagir* gifted to his wife Bibi Bhani by Akbar. This new township is what came to be known as Amritsar. The name Amritsar, by which the premier seat of the Sikh community is known, is derived from the holy tank called Amritsar—the pool of nectar, around which the town grew.

Guru Ram Das wanted to provide the community with a nucleus, but he could neither complete the holy tank nor start constructing the Golden Temple on its present site because he left this world rather early in life, handing over the stewardship of the community to his youngest son Guru Arjan Dev, a sensitive poet and scholar of eminence.

About Guru Arjan, his own grandfather, Guru Amar Das, had said :

"This grandson of mine

Will cruise people across the ocean of life."

Though Guru Amar Das had indicated beyond any doubt that Guru Arjan Dev would be ordained the Guru in due course, his eldest brother, Prithi Chand, was never reconciled to the position and he created no end of trouble for him. He started intriguing and conspiring against the Guru. Guru Arjan didn't take much notice of him. He was busy completing a number of undertakings left unfinished by Guru Ram Das.

Guru Arjan had the foundation-stone of *Harimandir*, later known as the Golden Temple, laid by Mian Mir, a Muslim divine of Lahore. The Sikhs desired that it should be the tallest building in town. The Guru, however, thought otherwise. He reminded his followers that there was no virtue like humility. The temple was, therefore, built on as low an elevation as possible. He also decided to have the new temple open on all four sides. Anyone could enter it from any side. No

one might be discriminated against.

As he was busy looking after the construction of the Holy Tank and the Holy Temple, reports came to Guru Arjan that Prithi Chand, his eldest brother had started composing his own hymns and was passing them to the Sikhs visiting Amritsar as the compositions of Guru Nanak and other Sikh Gurus. If this was allowed, Guru Arjan feared, it would be the undoing of the faith. He therefore, decided to compile the authentic texts of hymns of the four Gurus preceding him along with his own. The compilation when completed came to be known as the *Holy Granth*. Consistent with the tradition of the faith, Guru Arjan had a good number of spiritual verses of other Indian saints, both Hindu and Muslim, also collected and included in the compilation. It was a rare act of communal amity for which it is hard to find a parallel anywhere else.

However, Prithi Chand was not to be deterred. He complained to the Mughal Court that the *Holy Granth* had derogatory references to Muslim and Hindu prophets and saints. Akbar had it looked into and found that there was no truth in it. He was delighted to be acquainted with the highly inspiring volume compiled by the Guru. He bestowed robes of honour on the Sikhs who had carried the *Holy Granth* to the King and sent numerous gifts to the Guru. He also promised to pay his respects personally to the Guru when he visited Lahore next.

The Emperor kept his promise and came on pilgrimage to Amritsar. He was greatly impressed with the activities of the Guru. He made rich offerings and sought the Guru's blessings for the peace and welfare of his Kingdom. At the Guru's intervention he exempted the region from land revenue, as it had suffered a severe drought that year.

Unfortunately, a monarch of vision like Akbar did not live long. He was followed by his son Jehangir on the



throne, though Akbar had nominated his grandson, Khusro, to succeed him.

Jehangir was pleasure-loving. He was given to drinking. He left the administration of the Kingdom to his Queen and his courtiers. While on his way to Kashmir, the Emperor summoned Guru Arjan to meet him at Lahore. He asked the Guru to revise the *Holy Granth* deleting all references to Islam and Hinduism figuring in it. How could the Guru agree to it? He was, therefore, fined rupees two lakhs. The Guru told the King that his money was the sacred trust of the Sikh community and the hymns in the *Holy Granth* were a revelation in praise of God; no one dare alter them. The King was on his way to Kashmir. He was in a hurry and in no mood to involve himself in argument.

In the meanwhile the *qazi* gave his injunction ordering the Guru to be tortured to death, in case he did not agree to expunge the so-called derogatory references to Islam and Hinduism in the *Holy Granth*.

It is said, the Guru was made to sit on a red hot iron sheet. They poured hot sand on his body. He was given a dip in boiling water. As the Guru was being persecuted thus, Mian Mir, the Muslim divine of Lahore who had laid the foundation-stone of the Holy Temple at Amritsar, came and begged the Guru to allow him to use his mystic power to undo those who were responsible for the suffering inflicted upon him. The Guru heard Mian Mir and counselled patience. He told him that one must accept the will of God; not a leaf moves if God doesn't ordain it.

The Guru was tortured for five days. When they found him bearing all the agony with perfect equanimity, they became helpless. They were at a loss to know what to do. At this the Guru asked for a bath in the river Ravi by the side of the Mughal fort in which he was imprisoned. Thousands of his followers watched the Guru walk to

the river with tears in their eyes. His bare body glistened with blisters. There were blisters on his feet and he couldn't even walk properly. 'Sweet is Your will, O God; the gift of Your Name alone I seek,' said the Guru again and again. As he reached the river, he bade farewell to his devotees and walked into the water as serene and as calm as ever. It is said, it was the last glimpse his devotees had of the Master. He never came out of the river. The tide bore him in her longing lap and he was gone for ever.

With Guru Arjan's martyrdom, the attitude of Sikhs to life changed. Emulating their Guru, they would readily give their lives for any cause dear to them, whether it was for the protection of their faith, freedom of the country or the integrity of the motherland.

In Guru Arjan we have the culmination of all that Guru Nanak and the three Gurus following him stood for. They combined in themselves the best of Islam and the best of Hinduism. Rather than alienating anyone, they strove for mutual understanding. Venerated equally by the Muslims and the Hindus, they were peace-loving, devoted to meditation and prayers and service of their fellow-beings.

Guru Arjan's martyrdom precipitated the issue. It gave a new complexion to the shape of things in the Punjab and the Sikh polity. While Guru Arjan's non-violence and the way he made the supreme sacrifice reflect the best in Guru Nanak, the training he gave to his successor, Hargobind, was a sign-post of a long drawn-out conflict that followed, culminating in a momentous turbulence during Guru Gobind Singh's life and times.

### III

#### THE SAINT-SOLDIERS

To a student of Guru Arjan's life, the Guru's martyrdom was an inevitability. The forces of evil and hatred were relentless. Events moved with calamitous certainty. The Guru had attended to all his major assignments. The completion of the Holy Tank called Amritsar and the *Harimandir*, later known as the Golden Temple, attracted Sikh pilgrims from far and near. The town which rose around the Holy Tank grew into a metropolis of the Sikhs. The *Holy Granth* has not only preserved the Holy Word; it has served as a spiritual lighthouse ever since its completion.

Accepting the will of God, Guru Arjan gave up his life, suffering inhuman atrocities in a non-violent manner. Yet the last message he sent to his son was to arm himself fully and prepare for the struggle ahead which was to be a long drawn-out war against evil and tyranny. It steeled his heart, the heart of his youthful son Hargobind, who had succeeded his father as the sixth Sikh Guru.

It is said, when Bhai Budha, the grand old man of the Sikh brotherhood, brought him *seli*, the sacred headgear of renunciation that Guru Nanak had worn and had bequeathed to his successors one after another, Guru Hargobind put it aside respectfully and asked for a sword instead. Bhai Budha, who had never handled a sword, brought out one and put it on the wrong side. The Guru noticed it and asked for another. 'I'll wear two swords,' said the Guru, 'a sword of *shakti* (power) and a sword of *bhakti* (meditation).'

Guru Hargobind combined in him *piri* (renunciation) and *miri* (royalty). Henceforth the Guru's Sikhs were to carry arms and ride horses. It gave birth to a new concept of the saint-soldier.

No more did the Sikhs believe in self-denial alone, they grew increasingly aware of the need for self-assertion also. No more self-abnegation and renunciation alone, they wielded arms and lived an active life. They wouldn't frighten anyone, nor were they afraid of anybody. They reared horses, rode on them and racing and hunting became their pastime. The Guru maintained a regular army with various cadres. The heroic youth joined him in large numbers, irrespective of caste and creed. The Sikhs all over presented the Guru with best horses and finest weapons as their offerings. The Guru built forts and battlements, donned a royal aigrette and was known as *Sacha Padshah*, the True King.

All this was duly reported to the King who summoned the Guru to Delhi to have a heart-to-heart talk. The Monarch had a guilty conscience on account of Guru Arjan's martyrdom. It is said, the moment Jehangir saw Guru Hargobind, he was completely won over by his youthful charm and spiritual halo. Among other questions, the King asked the Guru which religion was better—Hinduism or Islam. In his reply the Guru quoted from the *Holy Granth* :

God first created light  
 All men are born out of it.  
 The whole world emanated from a single spark;  
 Who is good and who is bad?  
 The Creator is in His creation  
 And the creation in the Creator.  
 He is everywhere;  
 The clay is the same  
 The potter fashions models as he fancies.

(Parbhathi—Kabir)

The King was deeply impressed. He had also been told that the Guru was a great lover of sports. He invited Guru Hargobind to a tiger hunt. The Guru accepted the invitation gladly. It happened that during the chase the King was attacked by a ferocious tiger. The sportsmen accompanying the royal party lost their nerve. Their horses and elephants panicked. The bullets and arrows shot at the tiger missed the target and for a moment it appeared that the beast was going to pounce upon the King. At this Guru Hargobind rushed his horse and, pulling out his sword, he engaged the tiger single-handed. The next moment the tiger lay slain on the ground. The King was full of gratitude. He admired the way the Guru risked his life and the heroic fight he gave to save the King.

The Emperor became so fond of the Guru that he invited him to accompany him on his next tour of his Kingdom. The Guru's tent was always pitched close to the royal tent. While visiting Agra one day, the King was sitting under a tree. A poor grass-cutter, who had heard about the Guru's visit along with the King, came and, making an offering of a two-paisa coin, pleaded, 'You are the True King. I am a poor sinner. Help me wash my sins and attain deliverance from the cycle of life and death.' The Monarch heard him and smiled, 'The True King is in yonder tent,' saying these words, he directed the grass-cutter to the Guru's tent. Jehangir realized that the True King indeed was one who gave eternal peace and deliverance.

While at Agra, the King was taken seriously ill. The court physicians tried their best but could not cure him. The King decided to consult his astrologers. Chandu Shah, a dignitary who had nursed a grouse against the Guru for not having accepted the hand of his daughter for his son, conspired with the astrologers. They told the King that his malady was due to an unfavourable

conjunction of stars. It could be remedied if a holy man went to Gwalior Fort and offered continuous prayers to the deity there. Who could be holier than Guru Hargobind, the King's new friend? It was, therefore, decided to request the Guru to go to Gwalior and undertake the penance on behalf of the King. The Guru was aware of Chandu's intrigue; nevertheless, he readily agreed to the proposal and accompanied by an escort of five lieutenants left for Gwalior Fort. The Guru's Sikhs both at Delhi and Amritsar were unhappy to hear it. As it happened, a section of Gwalior Fort was used as a prison. The princes detained in the Fort were highly pleased to have the Guru with them. Guru Hargobind found that they were in a deplorable plight. He had their living conditions improved. He invited them to join him in prayers both in the morning and in the evening. In the meanwhile Chandu wrote to Hari Das, the governor of the Fort, asking him to poison the Guru somehow. He must be avenged for the indignity he had suffered owing to the Guru's refusal to accept the hand of his daughter. Chandu was not aware that the governor was an ardent devotee of the Guru. Hari Das brought the letter and placed it before Guru Hargobind.

Before long the Monarch fully recovered and the Guru was invited back to the court. But the Guru would not leave the Fort unless the princes detained in the Fort were released. The King could not agree to it. They were either political prisoners or had been detained for default in the payment of large sums of tribute due from them. After a while the King was made to realise that he owed his recovery to the Guru's prayers. It would be the height of ingratitude if he ignored the Guru's request. He, therefore, agreed to the release of the princes. The Guru left the Fort along with 52 Hindu princes who were languishing in the prison for several years. A part of

Gwalior Fort, where the Guru stayed, is still known as *Bandi Chhior*, the liberator of the detained.

When the King met the Guru to thank him, the Guru told the Monarch that there was no such thing as the unfavourable conjunction of planets. He also acquainted him with Chandu's villainy. The King was already aware of Chandu's perfidy in intriguing to have Guru Arjan tortured to death. In a fit of fury, he handed Chandu over to the Guru to avenge the murder of his father.

When the King heard about the Guru's desire to return home, he suggested that he might delay his departure for a few days so that they could travel together. The King wished to spend the summer in Kashmir that year.

During the journey, Guru Hargobind's tent was invariably next to the King's. It is said Nur Jehan, the Queen, took a fancy for the Guru and visited him with her confidante a couple of times. She was said to be the most charming beauty of her time. The Guru told her that the real charm of a woman was her virtue and her devotion to her husband. Nur Jehan was enchanted to hear the Guru's words.

An old woman named Bhagbhari, who lived in Srinagar, made with her own hands a fine silk robe and longed to present it to the Guru. But the Guru was hundreds of miles away in the Punjab, how would he know about it? The devotee in Bhagbhari, however, was undeterred. The Guru must visit her to receive the gift. Her faith was not belied. Before long she had the Guru visiting her. The first thing he came and asked for was the robe that she had made after years of labour, remembering the Guru every moment.

On his way to Srinagar, Guru Hargobind spent a night with Kattu Shah, a devotee in a village. Hearing that the Divine Master was visiting Kashmir, some of the Sikhs from an out-of-the-way village came to pay homage to

him. They too happened to spend a night with Kattu Shah. When he learnt that they were carrying a jar of special honey for the Guru, Kattu Shah asked them again and again to let him taste it. The Sikhs who had collected the honey for their Guru would not let Kattu Shah touch the pot, to say nothing of allowing him to taste it. When they arrived in Srinagar and made their offering to the Guru, it was discovered much to their embarrassment that the honey had decomposed. It started stinking. The Guru told them that they should not have refused Kattu Shah—the Guru's Sikh—to taste the honey on their way to Srinagar.

About this time Jehangir died and he was succeeded by Shah Jehan.

A devotee in Kabul hearing that the Guru was fond of horses, purchased for him a rare charger. It cost him a lakh of rupees. While crossing the river Attock, the local official noticed the clan of the charger and was fascinated. He must take possession of the horse for the King. As the Sikh entered Lahore with the prize horse, it was captured by the King's men.

After some time it so happened that the King and the Guru were hunting in the same jungle. Shah Jehan had a rare white hawk presented to him by the King of Iran. Somehow the Guru's party caught hold of the hawk and would not return it. Besides when the King's men came to collect the hawk, the Sikhs gave them a severe beating and drove them away saying, 'We will not return the hawk for the fear of anyone—even the King.' In fact, the Sikhs wished to avenge themselves for the Mughal soldiers appropriating the charger sent to the Guru by a devotee in Kabul.

How could a King allow it? A few days later when he was busy in preparations for his daughter's marriage, Amritsar was attacked by Mukhlis Khan under the orders of Shah Jehan. It was a challenge that had to be met.



Mukhlis Khan who thought that he would get the King's hawk and the Guru's head by the evening, lost his entire force in the fight.

Before long there was another skirmish with Mughal forces at Kartarpur where the royal soldiers were again routed.

While still at Kartarpur, Guru Hargobind one day went out hunting and came across an enchanting spot on the banks of the river Beas. The Guru decided to found a new township called Hargobindpur there. Before the completion of the town, the Guru made sure that along with the gurdwara, a mosque was also constructed in the town.

The royal hawk was still with the Guru. It became a bone of contention. In the meanwhile a party of Masands visiting Kabul were bringing along with them Dilbagh and Gulbagh, two rare chargers. The horses could cross a river without the rider getting wet. They were so swift that in a race their legs didn't seem to touch the ground. On their way to Amritsar, the horses were seized by the Mughal officials and made over to the Governor.

This unfortunate incident led to another fight since the Guru's Sikhs somehow had both the horses retrieved. In this skirmish also, the Mughal forces were mauled and they fled the battle-field in utter disarray as never before.

Painda Khan was one of the most pampered Sardars of Guru Hargobind. He was not only tall and handsome, he was the strongest man in the Guru's army. The Guru was immensely fond of him. He bestowed gifts on him every now and then. He had the best uniform, the best horses, and the best treatment. It seemed it turned his head. He started intriguing. He went to the Mughal Court and offered to join the Imperial army. Since he knew all the secrets of the Guru's forces, he received a warm welcome. Painda Khan's strength was legendary. He, it is said, could fight an elephant and with his thumb could pulverise a coin. Painda Khan told the Mughals

that the Guru's army comprised the poor and the low castes, the diseased and the disabled; they were weavers and washermen, barbers and ballad-singers.

It was, therefore, decided to send a force under Kale Khan against the Guru. He was to be supported by Painda Khan. It was again a bloody fight with heavy carnage. The battle cost the Guru seven hundred of his brave soldiers, while the loss to the Mughal army was heavier, including the killing of Painda Khan, Kale Khan and several other renowned soldiers.

Immediately the Mughal forces withdrew, the Guru, along with his family and close associates, left for Kiratpur. Budhan Shah, a Muslim divine, had been promised a visit by the Guru before his death. And the Guru felt that Budhan Shah's end was near. Another factor that probably prevailed with the Guru to retire to an out-of-the-way, quiet town was his anxiety to avoid further bloodshed.

Guru Hargobind kept his grandson Har Rai always in his company. Evidently, he was grooming him for the succession.

Guru Hargobind was a tall, handsome man of a fine build and was given to active life. He was fond of hunting and never evaded fighting if he must. He was a leader of his men and a hero on the battle-field. Like a true soldier, he avoided aggression as far as possible, but when he found himself faced with evil, he struck heavily and a fighter for right causes, every time he came out with flying colours. However, sensitive that he was, the bloodshed and the carnage on the battle-field made him unhappy. Advising his successor that he should keep only 2,200 mounted soldiers for his defence, he bemoaned the loss of many a fine soldier and *Sardar* and passed away contemplating why wars could not be eliminated from the world.

Guru Hargobind's greatest contribution is that he gave

a new turn to the Sikh way of life. He turned saints into soldiers and yet remained a man of God. He believed that non-violence is cowardice if it is resorted to out of helplessness or fear. It is the brave and heroic who can be non-violent. Essentially a spiritual leader of a community hardly a hundred years old, he fought a number of battles with the Imperial forces and every time vanquished his foe because the truth was always on his side. It was always a fight in self-defence and never a war of aggression. This new trend that he gave to Sikh polity found its finest expression in his grandson Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Sikh Guru.

Guru Har Rai was just 14 years old when he became the seventh Sikh Guru. In fact, he was nominated for succession because his father Bhai Gurditta had died an untimely death. He was Guru Hargobind's eldest son.

Guru Hargobind detested miracle-making. He felt that it was interfering with the ways of God. Once it so happened that one of Baba Atal's playmates was bitten by a snake and died. Baba Atal was another son of the Guru. He would not believe it and in all his innocence approached the dead body and said, 'Mohan, get up, you owe me a turn in the game.' It is said that the dead youth opened his eyes at the call and walked off to play with his companion! When Guru Hargobind came to know about it, he was distressed. 'How can anyone interfere with the ways of God?' he asked. Baba Atal heard the reprimand and took it to heart. Sitting by the side of Kaulsar, he said his prayers and gave his life for the life he had saved.

When Shah Jehan heard about Guru Har Rai's succession, he too realised that it was best to make friends with the heroic and self-respecting community. Accordingly, when his son Dara Shikoh fell seriously ill, he approached the Guru for his blessings and the young prince is said to have been cured with a herb Guru Har Rai sent to Delhi.

But this amity with the Delhi Darbar was short-lived. Aurangzeb, the third son of King Shah Jehan, usurped the throne and chased Dara Shikoh, his eldest brother away. While in flight, Dara Shikoh met Guru Har Rai. According to the tradition of the Guru's household, Guru Har Rai received the prince with due courtesy and gave him all the help that he needed. Dara Shikoh, who was a scholar and a God-fearing man, told the Guru that he was not at all interested in the Delhi throne and that he would be happier if he were left alone for spiritual pursuits. However, Aurangzeb captured Dara Shikoh and, having got him condemned by the *qazi* for deviating from the Islamic creed, had him executed.

After Aurangzeb was firmly settled on the Mughal throne, he turned his attention to the Sikhs. An excuse was readily available. The Guru had met Dara Shikoh, an enemy of the King, and blessed him.

Guru Har Rai passed away at the early age of 30 in 1661. Though the records are silent about it, the end must have come unexpectedly, probably owing to some fatal illness. But just before his death, he had his second son Harkrishan ordained as the Guru. The stewardship of Guru Har Rai and Guru Harkrishan was a sort of interregnum in the life of the Sikh community before it set on a new path of no compromise with injustice and evil.

Guru Tegh Bahadur who succeeded Guru Harkrishan was essentially contemplative by temperament. But the conditions in the Punjab and the rest of the country were such as would not allow him peace.

Though God-fearing and pious, Aurangzeb honestly believed that Hinduism was utterly misconceived, decadent and idolatrous. It was for their good if he could rid his people of superstitious and anti-God practices and thereby have the gates of heaven flung open to them.

Another factor that contributed to Aurangzeb's ill-

conceived adventure was his anxiety to improve his image. He had imprisoned his own father and starved him to death. He had his brothers Dara Shikoh and Murad murdered. He grievously insulted his son Muazzim, who later on ascended the throne as Bahadur Shah. The Islamic world thought poorly of him. Aurangzeb wished to secure a berth for himself in the next world. He, therefore, decided to turn the country into Dar-ul-Islam, the abode of Muslims and issued instructions to his Governors to launch a mass conversion drive of Hindus.

In Kashmir, the Governor realized that Hindus had started fleeing his province. In this way, he felt, he would be left with hardly anyone to rule over. He, therefore, invited the leading brahmins of the community for a dialogue. He explained to them his helplessness in view of the firm orders from Delhi. After protracted discussion it was decided that the Hindu community should be given six months to make up its mind.

Kashmiri brahmins decided to make a pilgrimage to Amarnath and seek intervention of the deity. It is said that while at the Amarnath temple, a member of the group of worshippers, Pandit Kirpa Ram, dreamt that they could be protected only by Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth in succession to Guru Nanak, who was the saviour in the Kaliyug. Immediately they left for the Punjab and reached Anandpur. They lost no time in explaining their predicament to the Guru. The Guru heard their tale of woe and was lost in deep contemplation when Gobind, his young son walked in. 'What is bothering you, dear father?' he asked. The Guru explained to him the situation. 'They can be saved only if a great soul can offer himself for martyrdom.' 'Then who is greater than you?' remarked the future saint-soldier of the Sikhs. The father was assured that Gobind was ready to take over. He advised the visiting supplicants to go back and inform their tormentors that they would be willing

to accept Islam if Guru Tegh Bahadur could first be persuaded to do so.

The Guru was summoned to Delhi and put in jail. 'If you are a man of God, you must work a miracle,' the King said. The Guru would not purchase his release the way a juggler earned his living. Then the inevitable took place. The *qazi* gave his *fatwa*. And the Guru was executed. Thus, while Guru Nanak refused to wear the sacred thread, Guru Tegh Bahadur gave his life, so that the right of a community to wear the sacred thread and practise its faith was protected. This makes Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrdom unique in history. People gave their lives for principles dear to them, ideals cherished by them and faiths they held. There is hardly anyone who had staked his life for other people's faith. The supreme sacrifice made by Guru Tegh Bahadur stemmed the tide of intolerance in the sub-continent and inculcated in the people respect for other religions.

## IV

### BIRTH OF THE KHALSA

Guru Tegh Bahadur's execution in Delhi in public outraged the conscience of the entire Sikh brotherhood. After Guru Arjan Dev's martyrdom in Lahore, the slaughtering of another peace-loving, non-violent man of God like Guru Tegh Bahadur gave a rude shock to the young community. The Sikhs streamed towards Anandpur from far and near to be with the young Guru.

Born in Patna in 1666 and brought up for the grim struggle ahead, the young Gobind Rai rather than being overwhelmed with his tragic loss, evinced firm determination and tenacity of will to fight the forces of evil and bigotry in defence of the poor and the *dharma*. The disconsolate Sikhs who flocked to Anandpur, saw in their Guru the promised saviour and the man of the hour.

A soldier of destiny, the tenth Guru started consolidating his resources and preparing himself and his people for the gruesome fight until the poison that had permeated the body politic of the country had been completely rooted out. Guru Gobind realized the need to give the new religion a distinct identity. Islam under rulers like Aurangzeb had become rigid, narrow-minded and uncompromising and Hinduism had been enfeebled by ritualism.

As a first step, it was necessary to consolidate resources and manpower, which necessitated a discreet pause during which links were forged with Sikhs spread all over India and abroad including Kabul, Kandahar, Bulkh and Bokhara.

The Guru was visited by his followers who brought

for him highly precious gifts. Duni Chand, a Sikh from Kabul, brought a canopy that was worth rupees two and a half lakhs. During his visit to Assam, Guru Tegh Bahadur had blessed a ruler who was issueless. As a result a son was born to the ruler. While the raja had died, the queen came with the prince called Ratan Lal to pay homage to the Guru with various gifts including an elephant of uncanny intelligence. He carried out various commands to the delight of the spectators. He washed the Guru's feet with water and then wiped them with a towel. He fetched the arrows discharged by the Guru. At night he showed the way with lighted candles held in his trunk. He performed several other interesting feats.

The Guru practised archery, went out on *shikar* and played mock battles with his companions. He had a huge drum made and collected his people, whenever he required them, by beat of drum.

The Guru also devoted himself to research, literary and artistic activity. He had 52 eminent poets working with him; poetic symposia were held frequently. The Guru, who was a scholar in Sanskrit and Persian, participated in them. His writings are a clear break with the tradition of his predecessors. He wrote powerful verse which is replete with images of war and warriors from ancient mythology and folklore. He worshipped God; he also had an unmistakable love of the sword.

The Guru had four sons—Ajit Singh, Jujhar Singh, Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh. He gave them training in riding horses and handling arms and reading and interpreting classics. The scholars engaged by him were busy translating philosophical treatises from Sanskrit into the popular language of the common people.

For the Baisakhi fair in 1699, the Guru issued a general invitation to his Sikhs throughout the length and breadth of the country to visit Anandpur. He advised the Sikhs to come with unshorn hair. Several thousand Sikhs



came to participate in the fair in response to the Guru's call.

On the morning of the main Fair day after the hymn-singing had concluded, the Guru appeared on the dais with an unsheathed sword dazzling in his hand and asked the audience—'My sword is thirsty. It needs the blood of a Sikh to quench its thirst. Is there anyone in the audience who is willing to offer his head?' There was consternation amongst those present.

'Is there no one who is willing to present his head to satisfy my sword?' the Guru repeated.

The gathering grew more uneasy. 'Do I understand that there is none amongst my Sikhs who is willing to sacrifice his life for his Guru?' As the Guru repeated his call the third time, a Sikh called Daya Ram, a Khatri from Lahore of about 30 years of age, rose from the crowd to offer his head. 'It's yours in life and death,' said the Sikh humbly. The Guru caught hold of him by his arm and led him to a tent pitched adjacent to the dais. There was a thud of the sword.

A moment later the Guru appeared, with his sword dripping with blood. 'I want another head,' shouted the Guru. There was panic in the audience. They even doubted if their leader was sane at all. Still before the Guru could repeat his call, another Sikh, this time a Jat from Haryana, rose and placed his head at the disposal of his Master. The Guru pulled him into the tent, in a strange frenzy. Again there was the thud of the sword followed by a stream of blood flowing out of the tent. And as before, the Guru came out of the tent with blood dripping from his sharp-edged sword.

'I want another head, the third.' He stood glowing with fiery eyes. Even at his first call, Mohkam Chand, a Sikh from far-off Dwarka, hurried to the scaffolding, apologising for his not offering himself earlier. The same frightful thud of the sword followed; and the red blood squirted

out of the sacrificial tent. The thirst of the Guru's sword was still not quenched. He came out the fourth time demanding yet another head. The blade of his sword was stained with blood. Some people from the hysterical crowd started running away. 'I want the fourth head.' The Guru looked around and before he finished making this call, Himmat Chand, who had come all the way from Jagannath-puri in Orissa, rushed to the Guru. His head was at his Master's disposal. Like the other three Sikhs, he was also led to the tent. The thud of the sword was repeated and the stream of blood flowing from the tent was augmented with fresh blood. With blood dripping once again, the Guru asked for yet another head. By now the gathering had thinned considerably. Sahib Chand of Bidar, this time, rushed to the dais and fell at the Guru's feet for not responding to his call all the while. The Guru led the fifth Sikh also into the tent. Terror-stricken, some Sikhs ran to inform the Guru's mother, others thought of seeking the intervention of the Guru's senior advisers. They had gathered to celebrate the festival of Daisakhi and here the Guru had started butchering them. They were on the horns of a dilemma. They did not know what to do, when suddenly from behind the tent, they saw the five faithful Sikhs emerge one after another, radiant and beaming, like five resplendent stars descended from heaven ! They were followed by the Guru glowing with a new confidence. The audience burst into spontaneous joy. They hailed the Guru with slogans—'The Guru is great !' 'Long live the Guru !' 'Glory to the Guru !' Shouting such slogans, they were going crazy when the Guru raised his hand and silenced them. 'Great are the Five Faithfuls ! Glory to them ! They are the chosen ones. They have found immortality. Those who know how to die, only they win deliverance from the cycle of life and death,' said the Guru.

The Guru, it is said, had slaughtered only goats. Every time he took a Sikh inside the tent, he slaughtered a goat

and came out with its blood dripping from the blade of his sword.

The Guru, then, had a steel vessel brought and poured water into it. The Five Faithful Sikhs were asked to recite hymns from the sacred scriptures turn by turn, while the Guru stirred the water with a double-edged dagger called *khanda*. The Guru was preparing *amrit*—nectar, to baptize Guru Nanak's Sikhs, to turn them into Khalsa—the elect. As the Five Faithful Sikhs were reciting the Holy Word clad in their blue robes of divine angels, Mata Sahib Devan came with *patashas*—sugarcandy—by way of her offering. The Guru was most happy. 'It is a timely gift,' he said and taking the *patashas* put them into the vessel. 'It is marrying valour to compassion,' said the Guru. 'The dagger was to turn the Sikhs into heroes, the sugarcandy will foster in them the milk of human kindness.'

When the recitation from the pre-determined text of the scripture was over, the Guru baptized the five beloved faithfuls with the nectar, the draught of immortality and knowledge sublime.

After the Sikhs had been thus baptized the Guru himself stood before them with hands folded and prayed to the Five Faithfuls to baptize him in return. Thus the Guru turned himself into a disciple. It was for the first time in the annals of history that the Master sat at the feet of his disciples asking them to be blessed with a draught of nectar. The moment he had the sublime sip, he became Guru Gobind Singh from Guru Gobind Rai. So were the Five Faithful Sikhs and thousands of the Guru's devotees who had gathered at Anandpur. According to the report of a diarist of the Mughal court to the Emperor in Delhi, 20,000 Sikhs were anointed on that blessed Baisakhi day. This was the birth of the Khalsa, the reincarnation of Guru Nanak's Sikhs. A draught of *amrit* and every Sikh became a Singh, a lion. Everyone had to

sip *amrit* from a common vessel, thereby joining them in eternal brotherhood and casting away the barriers of caste and creed.

The Guru then enjoined those who had been blessed with *amrit* to wear long hair (*kesh*). The hair is sacred. It is the symbol of the Khalsa, the pure. They were also to wear a steel bangle (*kada*) on their wrist. It should serve as a reminder of their commitment to truth. An anointed Sikh must also wear short pants (*kachha*) to ensure cleanliness. The Sikh should have a comb (*kangha*) in the hair to keep it tidy. Also he should always carry a dagger (*kirpan*) as a weapon of defence.

The Guru was aware that the need of the hour was an army of saint-soldiers who could effectively fight the forces of evil, exploitation of the poor and communal hatred in Indian society.

The anointed Sikh was not to smoke or take to any other intoxicants. He must not eat kasher meat. He must be loyal to his spouse and not covet other women. All Sikhs were equal; there was no high or low caste amongst the Khalsa. The Khalsa believed in one God, said his prescribed prayers daily and did not worship idols or images. The Khalsa must help the needy and protect the poor.

The Sikhs who adopt the prescribed way of life are as good as the Guru. The Guru is the Khalsa and the Khalsa is the Guru.

After the grand baptism, the Guru declared that all his Sikhs were to be known as Singhs (lions). The baptism had turned jackals into tigers. The Khalsa must fight oppression. It is maintained that having been anointed with *amrit*, a single Sikh could fight a lakh and a quarter enemies.

And indeed the Sikhs did do this miracle. They fought fourteen times against the well disciplined imperial army—fourteen pitched battles—and not less than twelve times

they defeated the enemy, made him withdraw, miserably mauled and routed.

Fighting against evil and injustice, Guru Gobind Singh suffered grievous losses personally. His father was martyred. His mother died in captivity. Two of his sons met their end one after another fighting single-handed against odds. Their father watched them from a battlement besieged by a rabid host. His two younger sons were walled in alive. Hundreds of his loyal lieutenants and thousands of his faithful followers gave their lives fighting for their Guru. His prize horses and precious MSS were lost. There came a time when he was left all alone. Without a horse. Without any arms. With no attendant. Having wandered through hostile jungle, his clothes were torn. Walking day and night, his shoes were worn out. With thorns pricking his feet, lonely and forlorn, it is said, he reached Machhiwada jungle. He lay down on the bare earth with a stone for his pillow. It was here that he sang what now is regarded as one of his most famous hymns :

Go tell the plight of His devotees to my beloved Lord.  
The luxury of soft beds is agony without Him;  
It's like living in a snake-pit,  
The goblet is poison and the cup a dagger,  
Life is like receiving a butcher's punches.  
I would rather live in hiding, with my beloved.  
It's hell living with strangers without Him.

He who lived like a prince in royal splendour was rendered homeless. He was being chased by the enemy forces from town to town, from wilderness to wilderness. Even then he was not demoralized. While camping at village Dīnga, the Guru wrote a letter to Aurangzeb in response to his invitation to see him. The Guru's letter is known as *Zafar Nama*, the Epistle of Victory.

The Guru told the King that he had taken up arms

because he had exhausted all other means of redress. The Guru continued :

"If I had not believed your word and your oath on the Quran, I wouldn't have left my town. If I had known that you are deceitful and crafty like a fox, I wouldn't have been here today...

"Every soldier of your army who left his defences to attack us was slaughtered...Many were done to death on either side with arrows and bullets showered on them. The whole earth was smeared with red blood. Heads and legs lay in heaps. The arrows whizzed and bows twanged, the clamour all over reached heavens. My heroic soldiers fought like lions. But how could forty men, even the bravest soldiers, succeed against countless odds?

"You are faithless and irreligious. You neither know God nor Muhammad. A religious man never breaks his promise. Had the prophet been here, I would make it a point to tell him about your treachery.

"What if my four sons have been killed, I live to take their revenge. It's no heroism to extinguish a few sparks. You have only excited a devastating fire.

"You have the pride of your empire, while I am proud of the Kingdom of God. You must not forget that this world is like a caravanserai and one must leave it sooner or later..."

The King received the Guru's letter and was struck with remorse. He removed all restrictions on the movements of the Guru and gave orders that Guru Gobind Singh and his Sikhs should be harassed no more. Aurangzeb's conscience seemed to prick him for the cruelties inflicted on the Guru and his Sikhs. It is said that he took to his bed and soon thereafter he died.

After Aurangzeb's proclamation, the Guru came to Talwandi Sabo, now known as Damdama Sahib. The

local chief called Dalla came to him and consoled with him on the martyrdom of his four sons. Dalla led a contingent of four hundred men and said again and again, that if he had known it, he would have placed his men at the Guru's disposal. 'Each one of them would have died fighting for you.' As he was talking in this vein, a Sikh came and presented a gun to the Guru. The Guru asked Dalla to go and get one of his men so that he could check his aim with the new weapon. Dalla was flabbergasted to hear it. But when the Guru insisted, he went over to his people and as he feared, not one of his men came forward to serve as the Guru's target. Dalla was greatly mortified. He returned to the Guru, his head hanging in shame.

The moment the Guru saw him, he asked one of his attendants to go and tell the two young Sikhs tying their turbans at a little distance, that the Guru wanted one of them to serve as his target to test the new gun that he had been presented with. As the young Sikhs heard it, they came running to the Guru. Both of them vied with each other for the honour. They happened to be brothers. The elder brother said, he had a better claim to serve his father, the Guru, while the younger one said, he must have his share of the father's property.

Dalla was astonished to see this devotion. The Guru told him that it was *amrit* which made such heroes of men. It made sparrows challenge hawks.

It was at Damdama Sahib that the Guru's consort joined him after the battle. It is said that when she arrived, the Guru was in a congregation.

'Where are my children, my four darling sons?' the bereaved mother cried in agony.

'Here are thousands of them all your children,' the Guru told her, pointing to the congregation.

It was again at Damdama Sahib that Guru Gobind Singh found time to redictate the *Holy Granth* incorporating in it Guru Tegh Bahadur's hymns.

After Aurangzeb's death, there was a scramble for succession to the Mughal throne as usual. Aurangzeb's eldest son Bahadur Shah was in Peshawar, therefore, his younger brother Azam proclaimed himself King. Bahadur Shah sought the Guru's assistance. Since he was the rightful successor, the Guru was keen to ensure that like his father, Bahadur Shah was not misled. He placed a detachment at his disposal. Bahadur Shah was victorious and invited the Guru for his coronation when he presented him a robe of honour and several precious gifts.

They became such good friends that Bahadur Shah persuaded the Guru to accompany him to the South on his tour. It was indeed the victory of truth over falsehood, vindication of good-neighbourliness and communal amity against bigotry and narrow parochialism.



## V

### THE WORD BECAME THE GURU

The compilation and the consecration of the *Holy Granth* is a fascinating story of catholicity of outlook, brotherhood of man and communal amity.

Says Guru Nanak :

What I am communicated to by my Master  
I transmit unto you.

The Guru was only the medium. And the Holy Spirit is said to travel from Guru Nanak through the rest of the nine Sikh Gurus succeeding him, until Guru Gobind Singh, the 'tenth Guru Nanak', who said :

As ordained by the Lord Eternal  
A new way of life is evolved  
All the Sikhs are asked  
To accept the *Holy Granth* as the Guru  
*Guru Granth* should be accepted  
As the living Guru  
Those who wish to meet God  
Will find Him in the Word.

Thus the Word became the Guru. The stewardship of the *Sikh Panth*—the Sikh way of life—was entrusted to the *Holy Granth*. Guru Gobind Singh declared unequivocally that those who wished to seek God would find him in the Scripture.

With the passing away of Guru Gobind Singh, the tradition of the living Guru came to an end. The *Holy Granth* was consecrated as the Guru. Those who looked for His blessings found them in the Book.

The Sikhs came to give the same esteem, the same veneration to the *Holy Granth* as to the living Guru. They prostrate before it the first thing every morning, make offerings of all sorts and seek guidance from the Scripture by reading, reciting and singing hymns.

And the text does not belong to the Sikh Gurus alone. The *Holy Granth* has, aside from the hymns of the Sikh Gurus, compositions of 36 men of God belonging to the various castes and creeds, religions and avocations. Among them are Jaidev of Bengal, Gurdas of Awadh, Namdev, Trilochan and Parmanand of Maharashtra, Beni, Ramanand, Pipa, Sain, Kabir, Ravidas, and Bhikan of Uttar Pradesh, Dhanna of Rajasthan and Farid of Multan in the Punjab. Not only this, some of them belonged to the so-called lowest of the low castes. Kabir was a weaver, Sadhna a butcher, Namdev a seamster, Sain a barber and Ravidas a tanner. The compiler of the *Holy Granth* did not allow communal or religious distinctions to come in his way. Dhanna was a Jat, while Pipa was a king. Farid was a Muslim divine and Bhikka a learned scholar of Islam, while Jaidev was a Hindu mystic and poet.

Thus when a Sikh bows before and seeks guidance from the *Holy Granth*, he offers his devotion as much to Farid, the renowned Muslim saint, and Jaidev, a Hindu *bhakta* of Krishna, as to Guru Nanak or Guru Arjan, the compiler of the *Granth*. It is a commonwealth of the men of God.

Be that as it may, it is said that some of the Guru's detractors made a complaint to the Mughal Emperor Akbar that the work compiled by Guru Arjan Dev included compositions that maligned Islam and Hinduism. Akbar

happened to be touring the Punjab in those days. He summoned the Guru along with the MS of the *Holy Granth*. While the Guru did not consider it necessary to go personally, he sent two of his trusted lieutenants with the compilation. It is said the King had a hymn read out to him at random. It was a composition of Guru Arjan himself :

From clay and light God created the world ;  
The sky, the earth, trees and water are made by Him.

\* \* \* \*

One must restrain oneself,  
Hell is the punishment of the defaulter;  
The miracle man, the riches, brothers, courtiers,  
kingdom and palaces;  
None will come to your rescue at the hour of departure.

The King heard the hymn and was deeply impressed. However, the detractors contended that it was on purpose that the Emperor was read a piece that was not objectionable. At this the King himself pointed out a hymn and had it read out to him. This too was found least offensive to anyone. At this the wicked contended that since none of them knew the Gurmukhi script, the Guru's agent read the hymns from memory rather than the text indicated. Akbar now had Sahib Dyal, a local citizen, sent for to read out a piece pointed out by the King to him. The hymn read out was :

You don't see God who dwells in your heart,  
And you carry about an idol on your neck.  
A non-believer, you wander about churning water,  
And you die harassed in delusion.  
The idol you call God will drown with you.

The Emperor heard it and was greatly moved. He said, it was a work worthy of reverence. He made his offering of 31 gold *mohurs* to the *Holy Granth* and complimented Guru Arjan on the compilation and promised to visit Amritsar personally in the near future to pay his homage to the Guru. The Emperor remembered to keep his promise.

The compilation of the *Holy Granth* was led to by not a very happy family wrangle. Guru Angad who followed Guru Nanak was not his son. He was one of the disciples, who was considered the fittest for the honour. Similarly Guru Amar Das, the third Guru, was also a devotee of Guru Angad and no blood relative as such. Accordingly, when the time came to name his successor, Guru Amar Das decided in favour of Guru Ram Das in preference to his two sons, Mohan and Mohri.

While Guru Arjan, the fifth Sikh Guru, was a son of Guru Ram Das, he was not the eldest son, who expected to succeed his father. This put him off and he started maligning Guru Arjan and styled himself as a Guru. It was he who had complained to the Emperor against the *Holy Granth*. It was also learnt that Prithi Chand had started composing his own verses and passing them on to the Sikhs as scripture. When Guru Arjan came to know of it, he decided to compile the text of the compositions of Guru Nanak and his successors in an authentic volume to insulate them against spurious interpolations.

Once the decision was taken, Guru Arjan went about this ambitious project in a planned manner. As a first step, he sent scribes to the various places visited by Guru Nanak and his successors to contact those whom the Gurus had met and obtain from them the authentic versions of the hymns. A Sikh was deputed even to Sri Lanka. When it was reported that Mohan, the eldest son of Guru Amar Das, would not part with the hymns in his custody, Guru Arjan called on him personally at Goindwal

and persuaded him to co-operate in the noble undertaking. On the way back Guru Arjan also visited Datu, Guru Angad's son, and collected whatever manuscripts were available with him.

In view of the importance of the task, Guru Arjan had a special cell set up in a quiet corner of Ramsar, one of the holy tanks in Amritsar. Bhai Gurdas, the eminent Sikh litterateur, was entrusted with the job of preparing the master-copy, Guru Arjan dictating the text himself. When the *Holy Granth* was ready, it was installed with due ceremony at the *Harimandir* and Bhai Budha, the oldest living disciple of Guru Nanak, appointed the first custodian. As a token of appreciation, Guru Arjan offered to include the compositions of Bhai Gurdas in the *Holy Granth*, but because of his modesty of a scholar, he denied himself the great honour.

The *Holy Granth* was redictated by Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and last living Sikh Guru, towards the close of his life when he had Guru Tegh Bahadur's compositions also incorporated in the body of the text. Again Guru Gobind Singh's greatness as a poet and his modesty did not allow him to include his own verse in it.

Guru Gobind Singh has a massive volume of compositions to his credit. Maybe the consideration that weighed against the inclusion of his own verse was that the compilation as done by Guru Arjan would get too unwieldy.

The hymns compiled in the *Holy Granth* have been arranged in various *Ragas* according to Hindustani music. The hymns under every musical measure are led by Guru Nanak and other Sikh Gurus in chronological order, the compositions of the *bhaktas* following them. There are approximately 6,000 hymns in the *Holy Granth* in 31 *Ragas*.

It is said Kahna, Chhajju, Pilu and a few other contemporary poets approached Guru Arjan and offered their verses for inclusion in the *Holy Granth*. The Guru duly

considered their compositions but regretted his inability to include them in the volume for one reason or another.

Some of the bards who subscribed to the Sikh faith and composed several panegyrics in praise of the Sikh Gurus requested the incorporation of their compositions. A few of these were included in the *Holy Granth*.

The scripting of the text was completed in 1604, Guru Arjan providing the epilogue :

Three things are there in the vessel  
Truth, contentment and learning.  
The ambrosial Name of God is added to it,  
The Name that is everybody's sustenance.  
He who eats and enjoys it  
Shall be saved.  
One must not abandon this gift,  
It should ever remain dear to one's heart.  
The dark ocean of the world  
Can be crossed by clinging to His feet,  
Nanak, it is He who is everywhere.  
(Mundawani)

This was followed by an apologia in utmost modesty :

I can't measure Your grace  
You've made me worthy of You.  
I am full of blemishes;  
I have no virtue  
You have been compassionate.  
Compassionate You have been and kind.  
Thus I met the true Guru.  
Says Nanak, I live on the Name alone,  
It pleases my heart and soul.  
(Mundawani)

The *Rag Mala* following this, however, does not tally with the *Ragas* in the *Holy Granth* and its inclusion has been a subject of controversy for long.

The text in the *Holy Granth* had utmost sanctity accorded to it since its compilation. No change of even a syllable was permitted. For a long time, the Sikhs would not permit the words in the text to be written or printed separately; they continued to be copied as a continuous text following the original done by Bhai Gurdas.

It is said, once Aurangzeb took exception to a particular verse in the *Holy Granth*. Ram Rai, the son of Guru Har Rai, the seventh Sikh Guru, who was staying with Aurangzeb as his guest, altered the original slightly to please the King. When it was reported to the Guru, he was mortified and sent word to his son never to show his face to him again.

Once Guru Har Rai was resting. A Sikh entered his room while reciting hymns from the *Holy Granth*. The moment the Guru heard him, he rose and sat upright in reverence to the Holy Word.

The *Holy Granth* is the most ambitious compilation of devotional verse. It is also most representative of its times. It has a grand design and a highly scientific manner of presentation. The pattern adopted by Guru Arjan was such as permitted incorporation of later compositions without interfering with the text of the works already compiled. Guru Gobind Singh didn't have to disturb the arrangement while adding Guru Tegh Bahadur's compositions to the compilation.

It opens with the *mool mantra*, the basic postulate :

There is but one God  
His Name is Truth  
He is the Creator  
He fears none nor does he hate anyone  
He is in the image of the Eternal  
He is beyond birth and death  
He is self-existent  
He can be attained by the Guru's grace.

The thirty-one *Ragas* included in the *Holy Granth* are : Sri Rag, Majh, Gauri, Asa, Gujri, Dev Gandhari, Bihagda Wadhans, Sorath, Dhanasri, Jaitsri, Todi, Bairadi, Tilang, Suhi, Bilawal, Gaud, Ramkali, Nat Narayan, Mali Gauda, Maru, Tukhari, Kidar, Bhairav, Basant, Sarang, Malhar, Kanada, Kalyan, Prabhati and Jajaianti

Following the compositions figuring under the various *Ragas*, there are a number of other hymns like Sanskrit *slokas*, the *Gatha* and the *Swatyyas*.

The order of hymns usually followed under each *Raga* is as follows : *Shabad Ashtapadis*, *Chhand*, *Var* and hymns contributed by the *bhaktas*. In order to guard against the risk of interpolations, every *Shabad* and every verse in the *Holy Granth* is numbered and recorded. The numbering also helps in locating the hymns conveniently.

As a literary work, the *Holy Granth* has some remarkable pieces of poetic excellence from the view-point both of form and of content. The language varies from Sanskrit and Persian to the Punjabi as spoken in those times in the form of various dialects. The poetic forms are as varied as they are original. They invariably reflect the mood of the text and succeed eminently in communicating it to the reader. The Gurus and the *bhaktas* take ample liberties with the form and do not seem to observe the rigidities of the traditional poetic moulds. In order that their compositions should be popular, the Gurus preferred the measures and tunes of the folk ballads and folk-songs. This must have helped the Sikhs to sing the hymns in their proper tunes. It is a great pity that since Hindustani music has an oral tradition, most of the tunes, prescribed by the respective authors, are lost with time.

The poetry of the *Holy Granth* is a mine of philosophic thought. It is highly revealing and reflects a way of life which is as simple as it is ennobling. Every word of it inspires and elevates. It has an equal appeal for the erudite scholar as for the least literate reader. It evokes



eneration as much from the Sikhs as from the non-Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims alike.

It must, however, be understood that paper and the printed word are not the Guru. They are only the vehicle. The Guru is what is contained in it, what one imbibes by reading the text, the revelation, the vision, the ecstasy. However, the fact remains that while the container that holds the nectar may not be nectar itself, it is no commonplace container.

## VI

### MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH'S SECULARISM

It is difficult to define secularism. Secularism does not pertain to worldly things or things that are not regarded as religious, spiritual or sacred. It is marrying reason to faith. Secularism is religious neutralism on the part of the State that decides issues on merit, irrespective of considerations of caste, creed or colour.

According to this concept of the term, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's regime was truly secular. Built on the ruins of the Mughal Empire, his kingdom extended from Tibet to Sind and from Kabul to the Sutlej. It is said, 80 per cent of the population of the territory he ruled over was Muslim, 10 per cent Hindu and the remaining 10 per cent were his co-religionists.

He was a devout Sikh. He said his daily prayers after an early morning bath. Paid his homage to the *Holy Granth*. Such was his faith in the Sikh scriptures that he never launched any expedition or project or even a trivial matter without seeking guidance from the Book. It is said that he carried a copy of the *Holy Granth* even to the battlefield with due veneration on an exclusive elephant. Once he was found guilty of a lapse as a *Gursikh*. He presented himself at Akal Takht, the highest Sikh religious seat, and offered himself for punishment to atone for it. The Maharaja received lashes on his bare back served by Akali Phula Singh.

He never discriminated against any other faith. Once he told his Foreign Minister Fakir Azizuddin, 'God

intended my looking upon all the religions with one eye, that is why I was deprived of the other eye.'

Born in November 1780 at his maternal parents' house, he was given the name of Budh Singh—the man of learning. However, when the news was communicated to his father, Maha Singh Sakarchakya, who at the time was engaged in a skirmish with a neighbouring chief, he changed his son's name to Ranjit Singh—the man of victory. Ranjit Singh won many a battle but remained unlettered all his life.

It was not until he was seventeen that he became the real master of his estate. He consolidated his position by matrimonial alliances with Kanhyas by marrying Mahtab Kaur, the daughter of Sada Kaur (whose husband had been killed by Ranjit Singh's father) and Raj Kaur, a sister of Nakkai Sardar. For obvious reasons, it was a strange love-hate relation that he developed with Sada Kaur, his mother-in-law. It helped and hindered his adventures in the years to come. It is amazing that, even at that early age, Ranjit Singh made important moves towards consolidating the Sikh Sardars in the Punjab who were broken up into twelve principalities called *misals*.

A welcome opportunity came his way when Shah Zaman cast his 'owl-like shadow over the Punjab'. The Sikh fraternity met at Akal Takht, Ranjit Singh leading them. It was called *Sarbat Khalsa*. The decision taken at the holy spot at Amritsar had religious sanction. A number of Sardars were in favour of fleeing to the hills as they did earlier, but Ranjit Singh remained adamant. It was eventually decided to give fight to the intruder under Ranjit Singh's command. Under his inspiring leadership, the Sikhs not only drove Shah Zaman back, but a time came when Ranjit Singh climbed the Musumum Burj in Lahore Fort where the invader was holding court and shouted, 'O you progeny of Abdali, come out and measure your

sword with the progeny of Charhat Singh.' It is said that the Afghan soldiers got mighty afraid of the Sikhs. They would not stir out of their barracks at night. In this encounter the Punjabi Muslims, who believed that their co-religionists would not harm them, were the worst sufferers. Ranjit Singh chased Shah Zaman up to the banks of the river Indus, inflicting grievous losses on the enemy. Thus the belief that grass never grows where the Afghan horses tread was belied for good.

After the retreat of the Afghans, Lahore was occupied by three Sardars of whom Chet Singh was the most impetuous. They misruled the town indulging in drinking and debauchery. The people got sick of them and Muslims and non-Muslims alike sent word to Ranjit Singh to come and take over the town. When Ranjit Singh heard it, he sent his trusted lieutenant, Abdul Rehman, to verify the truth of it. After he was reassured, Ranjit Singh marched at the head of 25,000 troops and occupied Lahore, the biggest and most prestigious town of the Punjab, without any bloodshed. After taking over the town, the first thing Ranjit Singh did was to go and pay homage to the *Badshahi Masjid*—the Royal Mosque.

Ranjit Singh paid immediate attention to the administration of the town and welfare of the people. None could practise highhandedness or oppression. Even if the Maharaja himself issued an unfair order, it could be brought to his notice for review. The judges were asked to administer justice in accordance with the *Shastras* and the *Quran*. Nizamuddin was appointed Chief *Kazi*. He had Mohammed Shahpuri and Saidullah as his *muftis*. There was a chain of *Yunani* dispensaries in the town under Hakim Nuruddin, who was the Chief Medical Officer, Imam Baksh was appointed Kotwal of Lahore.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had several high positions in his army entrusted to Hindus and Muslims. There were more than forty high-ranking Muslim officers in his forces. At

least two of them were generals. After Ranjit Singh had captured a chain of small states around Lahore, he sent a force of 20,000 men led by Misr Diwan Chand, a Hindu general, to attack Multan. He was to be assisted by Ilahi Bakhsh, a Muslim general of repute. It was a keenly fought battle. Nawab Muzaffar Khan of Multan fought to the last. But ultimately victory fell into the hands of the Maharaja's forces. This conquest also helped subdue a number of Muslim states like Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan and Mankera. Immediately after the victory of Multan, the Maharaja went to the mausoleum of Shah Abdul Mali built by Mian Ghausi, one of Ranjit Singh's commanders, who was killed in the fighting, to pay homage at the shrine.

Then followed a series of important conquests, whether it was Jammu, Srinagar, Peshawar or Kabul. It was a practice with the Maharaja to endow all the dispossessed chiefs with *jagirs* and as far as possible made permanent friendships with them. He was particularly considerate towards the Muslim rulers.

The Maharaja handled the English imperialists with great tact and as long as he lived, he kept them at arm's length. He employed foreigners to modernise his army and administration. It is said, there were thirty-seven foreigners in his service. They included three Englishmen, twelve Frenchmen, four Italians, four Germans, two Spaniards, one Russian, one Scot, seven Anglo-Indians and three Americans. All of them were employed on well-defined terms.

Ranjit Singh never styled himself a monarch as such. For a long time he would not sit on a formal throne. He considered himself a leader of his people, a general voted by his community to fight for them. Says Vincent Smith, 'The Punjab state was neither a traditional Indian territorial state and monarchy, nor merely a dictatorship of one community over another. There was an element of partner-

ship with other communities. Ranjit did not claim the despotic sway of a traditional monarch over his own Sikhs. He was in some sense its elected chief and, like Augustus Caesar, he was careful never to push his pretensions too far. To the end though taking the title of Maharaja, he claimed to be no more than a general of the Khalsa.'

When Maharaja Ranjit Singh came to power, it was the practice of the Sikh fraternity to get together at Akal Takht in Amritsar every time they had a major problem facing the community. It was called *Sarbat Khalsa*. They would debate the issue and the decision would be taken by consensus. It was binding on everyone. It had religious sanction behind it. The last such *Gurmatta* passed by the brotherhood was in 1809 when Holkar sought refuge in the Punjab. He was being chased by Lord Lake of the East India Company. The astute ruler in Ranjit Singh found it convenient to replace *Sarbat Khalsa* by a council called 'The Pillars of Kingdom'. In this way 'he formally effected a divorce between the spiritual and temporal affairs'. Amongst the Pillars of Kingdom were Dhian Singh Dogra, a Hindu who was his Home Minister, and Fakir Azizuddin, a Muslim, who was his Foreign Minister. This was indeed a brave departure from a practice that everyone among the Sikh *misals* had come to respect.

After he assumed the title of Maharaja in a darbar in 1801, Ranjit Singh struck his own coins in a mint in Lahore. One of the coins had the following Persian couplet engraved on it :

*Deg-o-teg-o-fateh-o-nusrat bedarang  
Yaft az Nanak Guru Gobind Singh.*

The words were both in Persian and Gurmukhi scripts. It is said, the Maharaja also issued coins called *Moran-shahi Sikka* in honour of Moran, a Muslim courtesan, whom he had taken as a queen. The Sikhs never excused

him for it. He was heavily fined but the coin remained in currency. Some people believe that *Moranshalu Sikka* was Maharaja Ranjit Singh's tribute to the womanhood of the Punjab since rather than the image of Moran, his most favourite queen, he had *Arsi*—thumb-mirror carved on one side of the coin. The thumb-mirror was popular with society women in the Punjab in those days.

Though every inch a Punjabi who would prostrate before the *Holy Granth* written in Gurmukhi script every morning, Maharaja Ranjit Singh did not have Punjabi as the state language. Persian continued to be the language of the court. He encouraged his princes to learn even foreign languages like English. He had some foreign works translated into Punjabi and is said to have granted a *jagir* to Shah Mohammed, a Punjabi poet of his time, who wrote an account of his expeditions with considerable devotion and skill. Along with propagation of Punjabi, he also gave endowments to Persian institutions like *Mian Wada* at Lahore.

There are ever so many stories that show that Maharaja Ranjit Singh gave equal respect to all religions. This story is told by Fakir Syed Waheeduddin, a progeny of Fakir Azizuddin, Foreign Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh :

'On one occasion the Maharaja and the Fakir were out walking on the outskirts of Lahore, when they met a bullock-cart carrying what looked like a huge book. The Maharaja stopped the bullock-cart and asked the driver what he was carrying. "Maharaj," replied the driver, "I am a calligraphist and this book is a manuscript of the Holy Quran which is my life-time's work. I am on my way to Hyderabad to sell it to the Muslim King of that country. I hear he is a very pious and generous man." The Maharaja turned to Fakir Azizuddin and said, "This man seems to think that there is nobody this side of Hyderabad who is pious and generous enough to pay him a

good price." Then he asked the calligraphist, "How much are you expecting, my good man?" The calligraphist named what would be a huge sum for a manuscript of the kind even today—ten thousand rupees. Before the Minister could intervene, the deal had been closed. "Fakirji," commanded the Maharaja, "please see to it that the man is paid ten thousand rupees from the state treasury." Soon after the manuscript had been acquired, the Maharaja asked Azizuddin to read out to him a passage from it. Azizuddin read out *Sura Yusuf* (Chapter on Joseph) and then translated it for the Maharaja's benefit. "But Fakirji," remarked Ranjit Singh, "the *Granth Sahib* says the same kind of thing. What is the difference?" "None, Your Highness," replied the Fakir, "the goal is the same, only paths are different." The Maharaja rewarded Azizuddin for this apt remark by making a gift of the manuscript to him.'

It is said, once Sardar Hukam Singh Chimni, a noted general and a favourite of the Maharaja, had one Said Khan assassinated due to some personal enmity. When the Maharaja came to know of it, he was wild. He sacked the Sardar from service and fined him one hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees. The amount was paid to the bereaved family. There being no capital punishment in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's *raj*, it could have been worse. Capital punishment was not awarded even when an attempt was made on the Maharaja's person.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh ensured that the administration of justice was properly organised. There were proper courts presided over by competent judicial officers. There were special courts for Muslims who wished to be administered by *shariat* laws. The Maharaja revived the offices of *kazi* and *mufti* prevalent during the Mughal period. He organised the revenue system of the state by appointing Bhawani Das, a high official, as chief of the Finance



Department. Revenue collection of the Punjab was no more the responsibility of an Amritsar banker. According to one estimate, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army, including the irregulars, at the time of his death totalled 1,23,800 (92,000 infantry and 31,800 cavalry and artillery), which is almost equal in size to the entire Indian army's strength on the eve of World War II in 1939. There were 384 heavy guns and 400 light guns with the artillery.

As regards public offices, it was purely merit that weighed with the Maharaja. The only other consideration was his anxiety to give due representation to the various communities. The key posts were manned by talent from various communities and parts of the world not excluding foreigners. In his book entitled *The Real Ranjit Singh* published recently in Pakistan, Fakir Syed Waheeduddin states: 'As regards Muslims in particular, the author's family archives contain lists of Muslim officers in the higher and middle echelons. Among the top-ranking Muslim officers, there were two ministers, one governor, and several district officers. There were forty-one high-ranking Muslim officers in the army, two of them generals, several of them colonels and the rest holding other important ranks. There were ninety-two Muslims who were senior officers in the police, the judiciary and the legal department and the supply and stores departments.' The Maharaja had a galaxy of talent around him. Amongst the Sikhs were Sham Singh Attariwala, Hari Singh Nalwa and Sher Singh. The Muslims were represented by the three Fakir brothers—Azizuddin, Nuruddin and Imamuiddin—General Ghaus Khan and Ilaahi Bakhsh. Amongst the Hindus were Dhian Singh, Gulab Singh, Khushal Singh, Ram Singh and Misr Diwan Chand.

The main Sikh temple at Amritsar called *Harimandir Sahib* was destroyed by Ahmed Shah Abdali in 1761.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had the temple rebuilt. Its periphery was laid with marble stones especially acquired from Rajasthan and its dome was gilded later when the Maharaja annexed Kashmir to his territory. It has since come to be called the Golden Temple. He had also a number of mosques erected from the state funds. A mosque was built in Lahore and dedicated to Moran, the courtesan-queen of the Maharaja. Several important mosques were made endowments in the form of *jagirs* for their proper maintenance. Similar endowments were made to Hindu temples.

The Maharaja visited Hindu and Muslim places of worship as devotedly as he visited the Sikh holy shrines. During his royal tours he visited varied places of pilgrimage. These included Punja Sahib, the famous Hindu temples at Kangra and Jammu, the well of Puran Bhagat, the mausoleum of Data Ganj Baksh and the shrine of Mian Mir.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's secularism was of the eighteenth-century type. It was conceived in a spirit of compromise and enlightened self-interest. It was in this spirit that the people of Lahore including Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs invited him to occupy the town and relieve them from the tyranny of the ruling triumvirate. It was in this very spirit that he had complete faith in the three Fakir brothers whose successors have remained ardent admirers of the Maharaja until today. That Maharaja Ranjit Singh had endeared himself to his subjects of all castes and creeds was evident from the way prayers were offered in Gurdwaras, mosques and temples when he was taken seriously ill before he passed away on Thursday, 27th June 1839.

## VII

### SIKHS IN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE

The role of the Sikhs in India's struggle for freedom remains not fully appreciated. They fought against British rule as few others did. The number of Sikhs dead in India's fight for freedom proportionately far outnumbers any other section of Indian society. There was hardly an agitation in which they did not participate, whether it was the *Swadeshi* Movement or the *Khilafat*, Partition of Bengal or Quit India. They offered themselves for arrest in hundreds and thousands, underwent severest persecution and suffered untold privation.

The Sikhs were the last to surrender to the British in the sub-continent and they were the first to raise arms against them. Their so-called communal agitations helped make British rule unsteady and contributed in no inconsiderable measure to the freedom movement. For was it not Mahatma Gandhi himself who greeted the Sikhs telegraphically—'The first decisive battle of Independence won. Congratulations'—when the Sikhs succeeded in their agitation for the control of Sikh gurdwaras and places of pilgrimage?

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre took place next to the Golden Temple, with the number of killed the largest among the Sikhs. Where in the modern world is an instance of a people lying on the rails with their wives and children and getting dismembered just to stop a train of freedom fighters who had to be fed and provided fresh water since they were said to be hungry? Not many can claim the valour with which Sardar Bhagat Singh offered

himself at the altar of India's freedom. It is said, he kissed the noose before he was hanged

That the agitations launched by the Sikhs for communal ends were a training ground, as it were, for the bigger fight for the country's freedom is made evident from the fact that all the front-rank Sikh political leaders in the Indian National Congress, before and after Independence, had been the Akali activists whether it is Kharak Singh or Mangal Singh, Gurmukh Singh 'Musafir' or Pratap Singh Kairon, Swaran Singh or Hukam Singh, Baldev Singh or Buta Singh, Gian Zail Singh or Gurdial Singh Dhillon. Not only this, Sardul Singh 'Caveeshar', who finally succeeded Subhash Chandra Bose as the Chief of the Forward Block, and Sohan Singh 'Josh', the veteran communist leader, were also active Akali workers at one time.

Good or bad, it has never been possible for the Sikhs to separate politics from religion. Dictated by the exigencies of statecraft, Maharaja Ranjit Singh tried it when he came into his own as the first Sikh ruler. Baldev Singh, Swaran Singh and Hukam Singh, the nominees of Master Tara Singh, Chief of the Akali Party, were alienated one after another from their mentor on their joining the Congress Government at the Centre. Such are the imperatives of Indian politics. Whatever their differences with the Union Government, the Sikhs of the Punjab whether a farmer or a soldier, a labourer or a trader, acquitted themselves splendidly in the three wars fought with Pakistan after India became independent. They continue to offer themselves for recruitment in the Indian forces far beyond their numerical proportion.

They inherited a badly neglected, arid part of the Punjab at the time of Partition. They have turned it into a granary of the country. Claiming highest per-capita income, the Sikhs have made no mean contribution to the small-scale industry as well. With a rare spirit of enter-

prise and hard work, they have made a success of whatever field they have entered. Spread all over the length and breadth of India, nay, every part of the world, the Punjab remains their homeland. And this is how it should be.

The Sikhs were always in the mainstream of the national life. They remain so enjoying highest offices in the land and availing themselves of unlimited opportunities offered by a big country like India. They are involved in India's fight for social justice today as vigorously as they had plunged themselves once into the struggle for freedom.

The story of the Sikhs' fight for freedom goes back to the nineteenth century when in 1863 a splinter sect of the community called Kukas organised themselves under Ram Singh (1816-1885). They were a para-military sect given training in the use of weapons. They propagated strict *Swadeshi*. Wore home-spun *Khadi* (cotton). Led utterly austere lives. Boycotted British goods. They had nothing to do with British educational institutions or even their courts. They had their own postal arrangements to carry messages for them. Inevitably they clashed with the government and a large number of them were tied to the barrels of guns and blown off or cut to pieces. Their leader, Ram Singh, with eleven of his close followers, was banished to Burma. He is said to have died in exile in 1885 pining for the motherland.

The next landmark in the Sikh struggle for freedom was the agitation launched against the Punjab Colonisation Act, 1907, under which the Government sought to enhance land revenue and water charges in the canal irrigated areas. There was widespread agrarian unrest with bloodshed in all important towns like Lahore and Rawalpindi. It was during this agitation that one Banke Dyal wrote the famous Punjabi song—*Pagdi sambhal jatta, pagdi sambhal aue* (Mind your turban, O tiller of

the land, mind your turban). It became a popular patriotic song with the freedom fighters and continues to be sung even today. Sardar Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai were prominent among the leaders of the movement. They were both expelled from the country and imprisoned in Mandalay in Burma. After their release Ajit Singh went to Canada and joined the Ghadar Party of which he became an outstanding leader in due course.

The Ghadar Party was started by Sohan Singh Bhakna under the inspiration of Lala Hardyal. They pledged to end British rule in India through an armed revolution and set up a Republic of India guaranteeing liberty and equality to all its citizens. They set up their headquarters in San Francisco. They had their own weekly journal called *Ghadar*. With a view to retaining the secular character of their organisation, they made it a point not to discuss religion in their meetings; it was considered strictly a personal affair. They would also not observe any restrictions in the matter of diet. Soon they were to be joined by Kartar Singh 'Sarabha', Dr Mathura Singh and Jawand Singh who were later hanged in India. The Party established its branches in a number of towns in America and Canada and also in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Philippines, Thailand and Panama. They also gave a selected band of its members training in arms.

The activities of the Ghadar Party received a great fillip by what has come to be known as the *Kamagata Maru* episode. It inspired the Ghadarites and steeled their hearts against the *ferringhi*. They were determined to throw away the foreign yoke and prepared themselves to make any sacrifice for this cause.

The *Kamagata Maru* was the name of a Japanese ship engaged by Baba Gurdit Singh for transporting Indian emigrants to Canada. There being widespread unemployment at home, more and more enterprising Punjabis sought to go abroad, Canada being a member of the

Commonwealth, Indians were entitled to have free access to the country. However, at the instance of the British Government, Canada passed an act preventing entry of the Asians. This was primarily directed against the Indians since they continued to allow Chinese and Japanese to immigrate in large numbers. The Sikhs would not have it. Accordingly, the *Kamagata Maru* with 376 passengers on board arrived at Vancouver on 22 May 1914. They were not permitted to land on Canadian soil. The ship was stranded in the high seas. The passengers had no medicines. They even fell short of water. But the Canadian authorities would not relent. There was a skirmish with the local police when it is alleged, fire was exchanged. The Government of Canada was not willing even to allow them provisions for their return journey. This enraged the Indians in Vancouver who threatened to set fire to the entire city. At this the Government appeared to see reason and the ship was allowed provisions for the return journey. The *Kamagata Maru* sailed back after two months. The returning passengers were provided arms *en route* at Yokohama and the leadership of Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna and Baba Gurdit Singh turned each one of the passengers into a hard core revolutionary.

World War I having broken out in the meanwhile, the *Kamagata Maru* had a hostile reception when it touched Calcutta. There was a train waiting to carry the passengers to the Punjab. This was not acceptable to the self-respecting Punjabis, who wished to stay back at least in Calcutta and earn something, so that they didn't have to go back home empty-handed. There was a confrontation in which eighteen passengers were slaughtered. However, twenty-eight of them including Baba Gurdit Singh managed to escape. Baba Gurdit Singh remained underground for seven years until he surrendered himself to the police at Nankana Sahib, the birth-place of Guru Nanak.

The Ghadar Party continued to inject revolutionaries into Indian politics. It is said, out of 8000 returnees during 1914-18, the Government of India interned 5000 and restricted the movements of another 2500. The Party had its sympathisers in the defence forces though due to lack of discipline and leadership it could not take any precipitate action. Nevertheless, the Government was on their track. The suspects were arrested. Among the 194 men taken into custody 180 were Punjabis. Most of them were Sikhs. They were charged with treason. As many as twelve were hanged. Some of them were imprisoned for life. Others were transported. And the rest were given various terms of imprisonment.

Considering that the Indian National Congress session at Madras in 1914 had its main hall decorated with the portrait of the British King and the Governor of the province was invited to grace the occasion with his presence, it was no mean achievement of the Ghadar Party to do all that it did. Its most significant contribution is that it made the Britishers realise that they could no longer take India for granted. They must negotiate with the Indian people and hand over power to them, maybe gradually.

The Great October Revolution of 1917 which overthrew the Czarist regime and brought the people to power in the USSR also had its salutary effect on the arrogant White rulers on whose empire, it was said, the sun never set.

The War was over but the Punjab was in ferment. The forces being demobilised had 80,000 Sikh soldiers. Gandhi had in the meanwhile assumed charge of the national leadership. A great believer in the good faith of the White man, he was dismayed to find that the British Government had no desire to part with power. He, therefore, gave a call for satyagraha.

On 13 April, 1919, the holy Baisakhi day, consecrated



by Guru Gobind Singh with the baptism of the Sikhs, large crowds assembled at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar. They included men, women and children. Brigadier General Edward Harry Dyer who had arrived in the town two days earlier with his force came to the scene, blocked the only exit and started firing on the unarmed innocent people with machine-guns 'till all his ammunition was exhausted'. The record says that 309 people were shot dead on the spot and many times that number were wounded. The Sikhs were again largest in number to suffer casualties.

The people of the Punjab went wild with anger. They set post offices and other government buildings on fire, massacred the White men who came their way, removed fish plates from the railway lines, cut telephone and telegraph wires. The entire Punjab was aflame. The government declared martial law and retaliatory measures were in evidence all over the province.

The Punjab became the vortex of the political struggle. The Nobel Laureate, Rabindranath Tagore, relinquished his knighthood as a protest against the Jallianwala Bagh brutal killing. The Indian National Congress held its annual session at Amritsar in December the same year. It was attended among others by Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, C F Andrews, C R Das, Dr M A Ansari, the Ali Brothers and Hakim Ajmal Khan. Among the eminent Punjabi leaders who participated in it were Baba Kharak Singh, Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Sardul Singh 'Caveeshar'.

The Sikhs now came to look upon Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru as their national leaders and started seeking inspiration from them. They were in the vanguard of the political movement. The Sikh League held a meeting in Lahore presided over by Sardar Kharak Singh in 1920. It was attended by Mahatma Gandhi.

It was about this time that the Sikhs launched what came to be known as the Akali Movement. Essentially aimed at taking charge of the Sikh shrines from the *mahants*—the hereditary custodians—and bringing about reforms in the rituals and elaborate ceremonials, the movement went a long way in politicising the Sikh masses and inculcating in them passion for independence.

The Gurdwara Reform Movement was a gruelling struggle. The vested interests would not like to part with the charge of the Sikh shrines, some of which had considerable landed property attached to them, apart from the income from the offerings which was no less substantial. The Sikhs had to launch *morchha* (agitation) after *morchha*. At times the fight was headlong with the government, while at others the government appeared to protect the hereditary custodians who were its proteges. In Delhi the government had demolished a wall of the historical Gurdwara Rakab Ganj where the Ninth Sikh Guru had been cremated. The Sikhs were wild. An agitation was launched. A *shahidi jatha* comprising Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus, who were prepared to be martyred, left for Delhi under Sardul Singh 'Caveeshar'. The Government came to its senses and restored the wall of the holy shrine.

After the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, the hereditary custodians of the Golden Temple invited Sir Michael O'Dwyer and honoured him with a *saropa*. How could the community allow the charge of the Gurdwara to remain in the hands of such inveterate toadies? Accordingly another agitation was launched to take over the Golden Temple.

Mahant Narain Das of Nankana Sahib, the birth-place of Guru Nanak, was a debauch and a drunkard. He was pampered by the Britishers no less. A *jatha* of over 130 Sikhs who were visiting the Gurdwara were attacked with swords and spears by the *goondas* engaged

by the Mahant and massacred. Their dead bodies were sprinkled with kerosene and burnt on the premises. The leader of the *jatha* Sardar Lachhman Singh was tied to the trunk of a tree and lynched.

The tragic happening sent a wave of horror throughout the country. Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers visited Nankana Sahib. The Government was alarmed. The charge of the Gurdwara was promptly handed over to a committee of the Sikhs.

The Government, however, decided to appoint its own custodian for the Golden Temple. This was not acceptable to the Sikhs and the agitation continued. The agitators were sentenced to frightfully long terms of imprisonment. But there was no sign of the agitation abating anywhere. The Sikhs continued to protest and court arrests in hundreds and thousands.

At last the Government was brought to its knees and the keys of the Golden Temple were handed over to the Sikhs by the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar at a huge congregation held in the town. This was described by Mahatma Gandhi as the first victory in a decisive battle for independence.

But what brought unique glory to the Sikhs was the *Guru Ka Bagh* agitation. A piece of land in Ajnala tehsil called *Guru Ka Bagh* (The Guru's Garden) which was no more than a barren tract with a wild growth of *Kikar* trees had been handed over to the Sikhs along with other shrines. However, Mahant Sunder Das changed his mind and would not allow the Sikhs to enter the premises. The Sikhs used to fell trees in the arid tract for fuel for the community kitchen. The Mahant sought police assistance and the Sikhs entering the so-called *Bagh* were arrested for trespass. The first arrest took place on 8 August, 1922. This was followed by a chain of Sikh *jathas* visiting *Guru Ka Bagh* one after another and offering *satyagraha*. The *jathas* came from all over the

Punjab. There was an endless stream of them. It was decided to be a non-violent agitation. The Sikhs would go unarmed, singing hymns, with hands folded and tried to enter the land which belonged to their Guru. The police who were tired of arresting them adopted new tactics under a British Superintendent of Police named S G N Beaty. They would beat the Sikhs mercilessly, pulling them by the hair, making indiscriminate lathi charges, breaking their bones and inflicting grievous wounds on them. With the name of God on their lips, the satyagrahis would fall down unconscious but they would neither defend themselves nor retaliate. Many died, a large number of them had to be hospitalised but there was no stopping the stream of *jathas*. Though propagated by Mahatma Gandhi, the Sikhs have non-violence in their blood. Two of their Gurus—Guru Arjan and Guru Tegh Bahadur—had given their lives as non-violent crusaders. The way the Sikhs conducted this satyagraha, and the barbarities perpetrated on them, roused the anger of the entire nation. The Punjab was a flaming cauldron. Every district tried to outdo the other. A *jatha* came from far-off Dhani Pothoar with Giani Gurmukh Singh 'Musafir' (who became the Chief Minister of Punjab in Independent India) as one of the volunteers. A lot of literature came to be produced about the unprecedented persecution and valour of the non-violent satyagrahis.

It surprised Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, the most. He was amazed to find vindication of his technique of political warfare coming from the most unexpected quarters, the brave people of the Punjab. Several national leaders both Hindus and Muslims came to the Punjab to see with their own eyes the way the satyagraha was being conducted.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a staunch Hindu who was at one time President of the Indian National Congress, witnessed the manner in which the disciplined soldiers

of the Sikh community suffered barbarities for the cause dear to their heart and was moved to say—'I cannot resist asking every Hindu home to have at least one male child initiated into the fold of the Khalsa. What I see here before my eyes is nothing short of a miracle in our whole history.'

C F Andrews, a Christian missionary and an associate of Mahatma Gandhi, also visited the Punjab during the satyagraha. This is what he reported :

'There were four Akali Sikhs with black turbans facing a band of about a dozen policemen, including two English officers. Their hands were placed together in prayer. Then an Englishman without provocation lunged forward the head of his *lathi*, bound with brass, and struck the Sikh at the collar-bone with great force. He fell to the ground, rolled over and slowly got up once more to face the same punishment till he was laid prostrate by repeated blows. Others were knocked out more quickly. It was brutal in the extreme. I saw with my own eyes one of those policemen kick in the stomach a Sikh who stood helplessly before him. I wanted to cry and rush forward. But then I saw a police sepoy stamping with his foot an Akali Sikh hurled to the ground and lying prostrate... The brutality and the inhumanity of the whole scene was indescribably increased by the fact that the men who were hit were praying to God and had taken a vow (at the Golden Temple) to remain silent and peaceful in word and deed. I saw no act or look of defiance. It was a true martyrdom, a true act of faith. It reminded me of the shadow of the cross.'

There were ever so many similar *morchas*. *Guru Ka Bagh* was followed by what has come to be known as the *Jaito Morcha*. Jawaharlal Nehru also joined hands with the agitating Sikhs here and courted arrest along with

a number of prominent national leaders. Nehru made the following observation on the occasion :

'I rejoice that I am being tried for a cause which the Sikhs have made their own. I was in jail when *Guru Ka Bagh* struggle was gallantly fought and won by the Sikhs. I marvelled at the courage and sacrifice of the Akalis and wished that I could be given an opportunity of showing my deep admiration of them by some form of service. That opportunity has now been given to me and I earnestly hope that I shall prove worthy of their high tradition and fine courage. *Sat Sri Akal.*'

25 September 1923

Jawaharlal Nehru

The Sikhs of the Punjab never allowed the White rulers any respite. They kept them engaged with one *morchha* after another. And these agitations produced a galaxy of eminent freedom fighters who earned a great name in the national struggle for India's Independence. Some of them are : Baba Kharak Singh, Master Tara Singh, Pratap Singh Kairon, Giani Gurmukh Singh 'Musafir', Sohan Singh 'Josh', Sardar Sardul Singh 'Caveeshar', Giani Zail Singh, Sardar Hukam Singh, Sardar Gurdial Singh Dhillon and Darshan Singh Pheruman.

While the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee set up to take charge and look after the Sikh Gurdwaras accepted the cult of non-violence, at the same time there were certain elements amongst the Sikhs who organised themselves as underground terrorists. Among them the Babbar Akalis were perhaps the most virulent. Their members were drawn from the Ghadar Party and soldiers on leave. They issued a cyclostyled bulletin called *Babbar Akali Doaba*. They became a terror for the administration in Jullundur Doab for a while. They were led by Havildar Major Kishan Singh Bedang and Master Mota Singh. But sooner than later they were rounded up,

six of them including Kishan Singh Bedang were condemned to death and the rest were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The Sikhs make fine soldiers. They are as loyal as they are valiant. They got themselves enlisted in large numbers both at the time of World War I and World War II. But after the Wars were over when they found that the Britishers had no desire to part with power, they fought them tooth and nail. They were scandalised to find that the *ferringhi* would deny them the freedom for which he made them fight in far-off lands. They fought the war of India's Independence shoulder to shoulder with the rest of their countrymen, whether they were Hindus or Muslims, Beharis or Bengalis.

## VIII

### CASTING IN LOT WITH SECULAR INDIA

The Sikhs were on the horns of a dilemma. The Muslim League was asking for Pakistan. The Sikhs were also an important minority, entitled to a separate identity and a separate homeland. The British Government was willing to concede it. It had indicated it unmistakably. Every time negotiations for the transfer of power took place, the Sikhs were included in the parleys in their own right, whether it was the Round Table Conferences or the Cripps or any other mission.

The Sikhs had another dilemma to resolve. World War II was still raging. The brave Sikh soldiers were in great demand. There was unemployment at home. Recruitment to the forces would provide work and wages and more than anything else enlightenment. The soldier returning home would help set up small and medium-scale industries which were the need of the time. But the Congress had decided not to cooperate with the war effort as long as the Government did not come to terms with it. On the one hand, it was their enlightened self-interest, on the other the Quit India movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. On the one hand, the Sikhs were offering themselves for recruitment to fight shoulder to shoulder with the British and on the other hand, they were courting arrests in the satyagraha launched by the Congress.

There was yet another predicament, a consideration that probably gnawed at the core of the Sikh sensibility. While the Muslims were close to their faith, the Hindus



were intertwined with them socially. They inter-married and they could dine together. This was seldom done with the Muslims.

And as regards historical perceptions, while the Muslims were unkind to the Sikhs, more particularly in the later part of Mughal rule, the Hindu rajas of the hill states did no less to harass Guru Gobind Singh and his followers.

Even in modern times, while there were frequent clashes with the Muslims, the Sikhs had no fewer grievances against the Hindus too.

It was, therefore, no easy task for them to make a choice.

Luckily, the leadership of the Sikh community at this crucial juncture was in the hands of Master Tara Singh, a man of sterling character, whose integrity was beyond question. A staunch Sikh, he had nothing but the interest of his people at heart. He was utterly truthful, nothing could ever deflect him from the righteous path. Unafraid and outspoken, he had little use for so-called tact, diplomacy or political manoeuvring. If the Sikhs ultimately decided to cast in their lot with secular India, the credit must go to Master Tara Singh alone. The Chief Khalsa Diwan or the Congressite Sikhs at the time carried little weight with the Sikh community; it was the Akali Dal that largely represented the Sikh masses, of which Master Tara Singh was the unquestioned leader. Like Mahatma Gandhi, it mattered not if he held any party office or not. His modest house next to the Sikh Missionary College in Amritsar was the vortex of Sikh political activity, deliberations and decision-making. Though self-opinionated, he never let his instincts have the better of him. A true Sikh, he must consult his colleagues before arriving at a decision.

The first clear indication of the Sikh thinking regarding their choice is to be had in Master Tara Singh's letter to Sir Stafford Cripps of 31 March 1942 after

his meeting with the Cripps Mission : 'We have lost all hope of receiving any consideration. We shall, however, resist by all possible means separation of the Punjab from the all India Union.' What had put off the Sikhs was the Cripps Mission postulating that immediately the War was over, an elected body of Indians would be invited to frame a constitution with the provision that if any constituent of the Union wished to opt out of the Indian Union, it could do so. Evidently this was to accommodate Mr Jinnah, who was insisting on Pakistan.

The Sikhs had pinned their faith in the Congress leaders who they thought would not accept the creation of Pakistan. This was belied when C. Rajagopalachari came forward with his formula conceding the right of the Muslim majority provinces in the north-east and north-west to pull out if so established by a plebiscite. The worst was that Rajaji claimed that his formula had the approval of Mahatma Gandhi. This enraged the Sikhs. A convention was held on 20 August 1944 in Amritsar in which Master Tara Singh, out of desperation, as it were, for the first time made the demand for an independent, sovereign Sikh State claiming that the Sikhs were a separate nation. However, it was rejected as an impossible demand in the same convention. Nevertheless, the convention appointed Master Tara Singh to organise the Sikh opposition to the division of the country or any part thereof.

Accordingly, the main issue on which the Sikhs fought the general elections of 1945-46 was opposition to the division of the country. They received a massive mandate. The communists amongst the Sikhs who supported the demand for Pakistan were routed in the elections.

The Sikhs' negotiations with the Cabinet Mission which visited India on the eve of Independence were highly frustrating. The negotiations were held under the

overall leadership of Master Tara Singh but the record shows that whosoever met the Mission, whether it was Giani Kartar Singh or Harnam Singh Advocate or Baldev Singh, they struck a different note. What they succeeded in convincing the Mission was that the Sikhs' demand for a separate State was not serious. It was only to counter the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan. And there was no denying it.

Accordingly, while reporting to the British Parliament, Sir Stafford Cripps found the Sikh stand rather untenable: 'What the Sikhs demand is some special treatment analogous to that given to the Muslims. The Sikhs, however, are a much smaller community, five and a half million against 90 million Muslims and are not geographically situated, so that any area can be carved out in which they find themselves in a majority.'

Exactly this position was stated by Master Tara Singh himself in his autobiography later: 'We were aware of the fact that our case was weak for three reasons: (1) We asked for a Sovereign Sikh State if Pakistan were to be conceded. Our demand was, therefore, dismissed as counter argument, no one took us seriously; (2) The Hindus who appeared to support us did so to oppose Mr Jinnah. In their heart of hearts, they did not subscribe to what we had asked for; (3) In the Punjab Legislative Assembly the Sikhs were divided with 23 Akalis and 10 Congressites and then there were just two tehsils of Taran Taran and Moga, where the Sikhs were in a majority and these, too, were not contiguous.'

Thus the Sikh demand for a separate Sikh State was never put forward seriously. It was neither considered seriously by any party. Eventually, when India came to be partitioned, what the Sikhs succeeded in was to partition the Punjab also, so that the Sikhs could cast in their lot with secular India and merge themselves in the mainstream of Indian society.

Even after Pakistan had been conceded in principle, the Sikhs had pinned their hopes in the Boundary Commission since they somehow felt that their important shrines like Nanakana Sahib, the birth-place of Guru Nanak, and the canal-irrigated belt that they had developed with strenuous labour, would not be denied to them. They had a disappointment in store for them. With the announcement of the Radcliffe Award, the Sikhs were equally divided between India and Pakistan. The Akali Dal under Master Tara Singh rejected the Award. However, they could not do much because their representative, S. Baldev Singh, had already accepted it as a 'settlement'. He served in the Union Cabinet as Defence Minister.

The Sikhs had to pay dearly for it. Pakistan was determined to get rid of them. Communal riots took a frightful toll of their life and property. They had to leave their hearths and homes and evacuate to East Punjab. Sir Francis Mudie, the Governor of West Punjab, is said to have written to Mr Jinnah, the Governor General of Pakistan, on 5 September, 1947—'I am telling everyone that I don't care how the Sikhs get across the border. The great thing is to get rid of them as soon as possible. There is still no sign of three lakh Sikhs in Lyallpur moving, but in the end, they too will have to go.'

While crusading for Pakistan, Feroze Khan Noon, a Muslim League leader, had announced; 'If we find we have to fight Great Britain for placing us under a Central Hindu Raj, then the havoc which Muslims will play will put to shame what Chengiz Khan and Halaku did in the past.' Exactly this is what was perpetrated on the helpless Sikhs and Hindus of West Punjab.

Their children were speared. Their womenfolk were abducted and raped. They were slaughtered most heartlessly in hundreds and thousands. Their property was looted and their houses were set on fire. The police of

the newly-created Pakistan, when not joining hands with the rioters, watched them from a distance. All this had its repercussions in East Punjab and the Sikhs and Hindus paid their neighbours in the same coin. The holocaust that followed has no parallel in Indian history—nay in that of the world.

It is estimated that not less than half a million human lives were lost in killings on both sides of the border. As many as five million Muslims were hounded out to Pakistan and twice as many Hindus and Sikhs evacuated to India, the Sikhs concentrating mostly in East Punjab.

It needed a herculean effort to rehabilitate them. But with the generous help of the Union Government and the indomitable spirit of the Sikh refugees from Pakistan, they were not only resettled but they also converted what used to be an arid wasteland into a fertile region. East Punjab, which was a deficit state when it came into being, is the virtual granary of India today. The green revolution has brought prosperity to the farmers. The Punjab claims the highest per-capita income today.

They say, every cloud has a silver lining. The Sikhs who were scattered all over the vast province, as a result of the partition, came to be concentrated in what is known as Punjab today. They have a State carved out on a linguistic basis. Howsoever small it may be, they are no more discriminated against. They have an exclusive homeland of the Punjabi-speaking people. And as it is, the Sikhs enjoy majority in it.

## IX

### COMMITMENT TO PUNJABI

According to the renowned Sikh scholar, the late Principal Teja Singh, Punjabi is the language that the people of the Punjab have spoken from time immemorial. A living language keeps on changing its complexion. During the course of history, this change in complexion may result in the language going entirely out of recognition. Punjabi has undergone this metamorphosis time and again and yet it remains Punjabi, the language that the people in this part of the country belong to. Even today the language spoken by the people living in Pothohar is different in flavour from the one spoken in Malwa, as much as the language spoken in Malwa is different in taste from that of Majha. It is said that the dialects in India start changing after about every 30 km. Like all other Indian languages, Punjabi, too, has a number of dialects. They can be as diverse as Pahari spoken in the north and Lehndi prevalent in the south.

A language need not necessarily be conterminous with the State boundaries despite the fact that in India we have tried to reorganise the political map on a linguistic basis. Punjab has been particularly unfortunate in this exercise. The Punjabi-speaking people already divided at the time of the partition of the country into Pakistani Punjab and Indian Punjab, underwent another bisection in our attempt to create the Punjabi Suba.

The Punjabi language has been plagued with yet another malady. This pernicious ailment it has inherited from its history. In the undivided Punjab before Independence,

the Muslims who were in a majority were led to believe by the Britishers that Urdu and not Punjabi was their mother-tongue. Accordingly, they gave little importance to it. When they must write in Punjabi, they employed the Persian script. Similarly, Hindus in the Punjab propagated the use of Hindi as prompted by the revivalist movements at the turn of the century. When they couldn't help writing in Punjabi, they opted for the Devnagri script. This left Sikhs, who remained unequivocally devoted to Punjabi as their mother-tongue. They employed the Gurmukhi script that had been popularised by the Sikh Gurus.

That the *Holy Granth* was written in Gurmukhi letters and because of it the Sikhs have adhered to this script has created more misunderstandings than necessary in the communal milieu that has been the bane of life in the Punjab generation after generation in recent times.

It has now been proved beyond any doubt that the Gurmukhi script was prevalent in the Punjab long before the Sikh Gurus appeared on the scene. It was not Guru Angad, the second Sikh Guru, as is popularly believed, who invented the Gurmukhi script. He did propagate it. A great lover of children, he wanted Sikh children to be properly educated. He insisted on teaching them in their mother-tongue Punjabi with Gurmukhi as the most suitable script for the purpose. In due course, the Gurmukhi script gained currency and recognition, so that when Guru Arjan Dev, the fifth Sikh Guru, decided to compile the *Holy Granth*, he opted in favour of this script.

The Gurmukhi script is drawn from Brahmi and Kharoshthi scripts as, perhaps, the Devnagri script itself owes its origin to them. The two scripts have some alphabets common to them, some alphabets similar and some with different sounds though looking almost alike. Gurmukhi is a simple script, beautiful to look at, devised especially

for the Punjabi language. It has continued to be modified from time to time, so that it meets the demands of the new practitioners of the language eminently today.

It is a truism that the Sikhs opted for the Gurmukhi script because it was prescribed by the Sikh Gurus. It is also a fact that the Gurmukhi script is best suited to the Punjabi language. It has been devised for it and during the course of years it has been modified to meet its changing needs.

The Sikhs' adherence to the Punjabi language is, perhaps, the most secular feature of their way of life. Accordingly, on the occasion of the creation of the Punjabi Suba, it was decided that the language of the people of the Punjab is Punjabi and its only script is Gurmukhi. It was a timely decision because the languages in India were then coming into their own. It put an end to all sorts of experiments that were in the offing.

It was only after Independence that the Muslims in the West Punjab belonging to Pakistan realised that Punjabi and not Urdu was their mother-tongue. They learnt it the hard way. However, they continue to use the Persian script which makes their language drift away and away from the language in use in our part of the Punjab. It is feared that if our Pakistani brothers do not see reason, before long their language will have an entirely alien character from the Punjabi prevalent in India.

While the Sikhs have adopted Punjabi with Gurmukhi script, it is not as though the non-Sikhs have not contributed to the development of the Punjabi language and literature. We have such stalwarts as Dhani Ram 'Chatrik' the poet, Kirpa Sagar and I. C. Nanda, the playwrights, amongst the makers of modern Punjabi literature. They not only wrote in Punjabi, they also employed the Gurmukhi script. Their example is followed by a host of non-Sikh contemporaries writing in Punjabi with distinction today. More important among them



are Devendra Satyarthi, the folklorist, Balwant Gargi, the dramatist, Dr Roshan Lal Ahuja and Dr Mohinder P. Kohli, literary critics, Harnam Das Sehrai, the novelist, Khalid Husain, the short story writer, Dr V. N Tiwari and Jaswant Rai, the poets. And then Shiv Kumar Batalvi, who blazed a new trail in Punjabi? and passed away the other day to be mourned by millions of his admirers.

We have the *Holy Quran* and the *Ramayana* rendered into Punjabi. When Dhani Ram 'Chatrik' talks about Radha in his poetry, he is read no less avidly:

Udho, talk to me about Kanha  
Don't you torture me any more  
Hardly had the wounds started healing  
When you came and opened them up again.

(*Radha Sandesh*)

Or when in our folksongs a Punjabi maiden longs for a spouse like Krishna, it is the cry of the soil of the Punjab, it is no petty, parochial, communal articulation :

'Whom are you waiting for behind the *Chandan* tree?'  
'I wait for my father.'

'It's time, I should have a spouse, dear dad.'  
'What type of spouse, dear daughter?'  
'A spouse like the moon among the stars  
And Krishna among the gods.'

More than anything else, the Sikhs' commitment to the mother-tongue Punjabi common to everyone born on this soil is an abiding guarantee of their secularism. When the Punjabi Muslims flirted with Urdu and when the Punjabi Hindus turned their back on their mother-tongue, the Sikhs remained steadfast in their loyalty and

devotion to Punjabi. This love for the mother-tongue is a chain which is going to bind us together, the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims of the Punjab.

Guru Nanak and the nine Sikh Gurus following him spoke the language of the people and talked to them in their own idiom. They propagated the Punjabi language and the Gurmukhi script found admirably suited to it. It would be a pity if this fact leads to any prejudices against the Punjabi language or the Gurmukhi script. The Punjabi language with Gurmukhi script is the common heritage of the people of the Punjab and it should serve as a cementing factor, binding the people into an eternal bond of understanding, good-neighbourliness and brotherhood.

# X

## AFTERWORD

### PUNJAB NEEDS A COMPOSITE CULTURAL PATTERN

What has been happening in the Punjab of late will put every right-thinking Punjabi to shame. People do have grievances and there are avenues in a democratic set-up to give vent to them. The most unhappy would be Guru Nanak himself who strove for communal understanding and brotherhood of man.

To my mind, we have been inevitably heading towards the situation in which we find ourselves in the Punjab today. Why we did not face this impasse earlier is a surprise.

The seeds of communal distrust were sown a decade and a half ago when the Punjabi Suba in its present form came into being. It left every well-meaning Punjabi disenchanted. Though late, Delhi conceded the concept of a Punjabi-speaking State in conformity with its commitment to reorganising the provincial boundaries on the linguistic basis. However, it was left to a handful of narrow-minded politicians both at the Centre and in the Punjab to work out its details. They played havoc with it. The short-sighted Hindu saw to it that as much of it as could be managed was pared off the erstwhile State, so that the unilingual Punjab was left as diminutive as it could be. It seemed, it suited the parochial Sikh, who laughed in his sleeves. These machinations on the part of the bigoted Hindus were going to give a clear majority to the Sikhs in the new State. And this is what the

dichard Sikh was looking for. It seems the people of the reorganised Punjab were driven to cast themselves into a narrow mould. It is no surprise that we are suffering the consequences thereof.

This error of commission was followed by an equally grave error of omission. The successive Governments in the Punjab, whether they were Congress, Akali or Janata, did precious little to foster healthy values : a composite cultural pattern in the State. Lost in a headlong race for banishing poverty by bettering performance in the fields and enhancing production in the factories, they were left behind in sensitive areas like art and culture. With the result that today the Punjab is utterly without any tradition of classical or light classical music. It has hardly anything better than Bhangra by way of dance. Its artists, whether it is Satish Gujral or Krishan Khanna, have become alien.

The worst off are the creative writers. The Punjabi writer who felt that with the creation of the Punjabi Suba, the flood-gates of opportunities would be opened for him is dismayed. The number of books published in Punjab in 1980-81 was a bare 308 as against 1,046 in Bengali, 767 in Gujarati, 500 in Kannada, 1,044 in Malayalam, 1,361 in Marathi and 1,135 in Tamil. What to speak of attracting Punjabi authors like Rajinder Singh Bedi, Dr Mulk Raj Anand, Khushwant Singh, Krishna Baldev Vaid, and Krishna Sobti to take to writing in Punjabi, not a few eminent authors writing in Punjabi are drifting away to Hindi and English.

Punjabi theatre is another name for vulgarity. A worthwhile production here and there seems to be not much noticed.

After the green revolution, the Punjab is poised for an agro-industrial revolution. No one could stop the green revolution despite the waters of the Punjab rivers going to neighbouring states in no small measure. The

hardy Punjabi is going to usher in an agro-industrial revolution whether he has to sweat without power and run his pumps with diesel oil month after month and year after year.

This new Punjabi is going to fritter away his energies in slogan-mongering and wasteful pursuits if he is not given an opportunity to cultivate finer sensibility. He will indulge in vulgarity if he is not introduced to better pastimes. The new life makes a lonely modern man. The affluence, at times, can be frightfully destabilising. It can kill the human in man, make him selfish and self-centred.

We must guard against it. The time is now and here, if it is not too late already. All mischief is made in the mind of man and it is here that stable defences against evil must be erected.

The media in the Punjab, therefore, have a grave responsibility. That they have miserably failed was proved the other day when a seniormost journalist and a freedom fighter was slaughtered in a dastardly attack. Every phrase that is put to pen must be weighed. We have all the freedom, but not the freedom to set our house on fire. In a recent survey by the Registrar of Newspapers, it was revealed that the Punjab has the largest number of periodicals including dailies, weeklies and monthly journals, etc. The responsibility of the Press in the Punjab, therefore, becomes all the more grave.

Punjabi films continue to be as cheap as ever. The film in regional languages like Kannada and Malayalam, Bengali and Marathi has made long strides. The Punjabi film remains where it was. The Government must fill in the gaps wherever they occur. It must step in with appropriate support where a social or cultural need demands it.

The Radio and TV are the wings of the Government. They need to improve their image by better quality pro-

grammes. Their propaganda broadcasts will carry conviction only if they improve their general performance. They must give their audiences aesthetically satisfying programmes to cultivate their taste. It is hardly necessary to add that a lot more needs to be done in this respect.

And this brings me to creative writing which is one of the most vital factors in keeping people together. It has been the worst sufferer in the Punjab. The Punjabi writer is in a miserable plight. The people in the Punjab have yet to develop the reading habit. Since books don't sell and the Government has not purchased books in bulk for several years, publishing in Punjabi has virtually come to a grinding halt. The situation does not brook even a day's delay.

There should be a network of libraries in the State. It is the only way to foster the reading habit and it is also the only way to resuscitate our publishing industry in the present circumstances.

Those who read good books live in good company. Those who pursue fine arts have finer sensibilities, sharper perceptions. They have a wider vision and a larger heart. They have little time for narrow pursuits and parochial bickerings.

Let the people of the Punjab read books so that they know why the greatest Sikh leader of our time, Master Tara Singh, chose to cast in the lot of his community with India when what is now called Khalistan could be had for the asking at the time of independence.

What the people of the Punjab need is fostering the Punjabi identity.

What is the Punjabi identity?

It is love of the Punjab. It is love of the Punjabi language. It is love of the Punjabi way of life. A Punjabi is a good neighbour; neighbours are born of the same parents, runs a Punjabi saying. A Punjabi is hard-working. Work hard and share your earnings with others,

said Guru Nanak. A Punjabi is ever ready to make any sacrifice for his land and his people, his tradition and his heritage. A Punjabi keeps abreast of the times. He is happy-go-lucky and full of enterprise. A Punjabi is one who believes that what others can do, he can do better. The silken bonds of this Punjabi identity will bind the people of the Punjab together for ever and ever.

## ROLE OF THE PUNJABI WRITER

Emotional integration is no new concept in a country where Buddha was born, where Kabir lived, where Guru Nanak preached his message of brotherhood. "There is no Hindu; there is no Musalman," he said, "we are all human beings born of one God—*Ik oankar*."

In this country, we had mighty rulers like Asoka who advocated *Panch Sheel*, propagating co-existence, Akbar who conceived *Din-e-Ilahi*, a common religion for all and Maharaja Ranjit Singh who believed in secularism in word and deed and practised it vigorously.

Then came the Britishers. They did unite the whole of India, from Cape Comorin to Kashmir but in order to rule over it, they kept its people divided. Not only this, they fostered alienation and misunderstanding between one community and another, one part of the country and another in a sinister manner. The worst was that while parting they divided the country, thereby throwing open the Pandora's box of mischief. They showed the people in the sub-continent the way to disintegration. No wonder that the wound rather than healing up all these days starts festering from time to time. We have to be eternally vigilant to safeguard ourselves against it.

Everyone has to play a part in it, the writer's role being particularly significant.

The writer is an opinion-maker. He is sensitive. He concretises perceptions. He is a communicator, who carries his formulations to readers.

The writer is an artist. A man of wider sympathies. A



true writer is seldom parochial, nor is he petty and narrow-minded.

An idealist, he idealises situations, creates characters who serve as models and steers many a reader through the stormy waters of life. Tolstoy did it, Tagore did it, nearer home Vir Singh did it the other day in a splendid manner. Not long ago when Faiz was involved in a case of conspiracy in his country to overthrow the government of the day, his poems were smuggled out of jail and travelled from town to town from street to street, from person to person like a flash of lightning, as it were.

Be that as it may, reference to Faiz reminds me that the writer has to be particularly involved in issues, specifically those that are by and large the creation of misled politicians. At the dawn of Independence, Faiz said :

*Yeh daghdar ujala,  
Yeh shab gazeeda Sahar  
Woh intizar tha jiska  
Yeh woh Sahar to nahin  
Yeh woh Sahar to nahin  
Jiski arzoo lekar  
Chale the yar  
Ki mil jayegi kahin nah kahin*

(Subha-e-azadi)

*This smudgy light !  
This night-bitten morn !  
The one we longed for  
It isn't that morn  
It isn't that morn  
In search of which  
We came out  
That we must find it somewhere.*

(The Dawn of Independence)

Evidently Faiz was dismayed at the bloodshed and dislocation caused at the time of Independence on account of the partition of the country. But where was Faiz or Krishan Chander, Bedi or Manto or for that matter the writer of these lines when the die-hard and fanatic elements in our society were fanning communal hatred and leading the masses to the precipice? To my mind the writer of my generation failed in his duty miserably the other day. We did not perceive the situation. If we did we did not caution our people. If the fate of millions is to be decided by the rabble in the streets, then what use is the pen or the intellect?

We encounter an identical situation in the Punjab today. The writer stands warned. If the Punjab were to be divided further it will be committing harakiri, a ceremonial mass suicide. Any further vivisection will bleed the State to death.

But how to go about it?

I have just returned after a 4-week tour of the U.S.S.R. as a guest of the Union of Soviet Writers. During my visit to Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, a close neighbour of India, I found the cream of Uzbek writers undertaking a mass-contact exercise in a spectacular motorcade. They were led by Mr. Sarvar Azimov, Chairman of the Uzbek Writers Union and had eminent writers like the poetess Zulfia participating in it. They went from town to town and village to village in a pre-determined sector, held mass meetings, read their latest writings and answered their readers' queries. The motorcade comprising more than 20 limousines was led by a pilot jeep. It was exhilarating to find the traffic coming to a standstill as the procession of eminent writers approached.

A similar campaign of "cultural workers" in the Punjab comprising eminent Punjabi writers living in the State together with those domiciled outside the Punjab could be organised periodically to go from village to village and

from town to town to bring home to the people the message of love and good neighbourliness.

The writer whether he is a creative artist, a journalist, a compiler of textbooks or one engaged in any other allied activity must be extremely cautious while wielding the pen in the conditions obtaining in the Punjab today. Most important is the preparation and production of textbooks. It is at the formative stage in schools that utmost precaution needs to be taken. No unhealthy perceptions must be allowed to creep into the textbooks. A panel of eminent litterateurs might be invited to screen the textbooks already in circulation and the preparation of reading material for children in future should be assigned to the highest, acceptable authority in the various subjects. In the U.S.S.R. no book is prescribed as a textbook unless it is examined and approved by academicians, teachers, selected parents and even children.

The writers should have provision to undertake study tours of other parts of the country. Similar provision should also be made for inviting creative writers from the sister States to visit the Punjab. We certainly have a great deal to be proud of. Such a traffic should help widen the horizon of our writers.

And lastly, we must build the image of our writer so that in return he plays his part and gives his best to his society. I, however, hasten to add that it is far from me to suggest State patronage. It has its own burdens. It is the readers who create great writers. And it is writers like Tolstoy and Tagore who bring in change.



## GLOSSARY

<b>Anrit</b>	<b>Nectar</b>
<b>Ang</b>	<b>Limb</b>
<b>Ashtapadi</b>	<b>A poetic measure with 8 couplets</b>
<b>Badshahi Masjid</b>	<b>Royal mosque</b>
<b>Banda Chhor</b>	<b>Liberator of the detained</b>
<b>Bani</b>	<b>Holy word</b>
<b>Baraunah</b>	<b>A poetic form with a bearing on 12 months of the year</b>
<b>Bhakta</b>	<b>Devotee</b>
<b>Bhakti</b>	<b>Devotion</b>
<b>Chhand</b>	<b>Poetic measure</b>
<b>Degh</b>	<b>An oversize cooking vessel</b>
<b>Dharma</b>	<b>Faith</b>
<b>Doha</b>	<b>A poetic measure with two lines</b>
<b>Faql</b>	<b>Muslim recluse</b>
<b>Fatwa</b>	<b>Verdict given by a Muslim divine</b>
<b>Gatha</b>	<b>A poetic form</b>
<b>Ghadar</b>	<b>Revolt</b>
<b>Goenda</b>	<b>Miscreant</b>
<b>Gurmata</b>	<b>Resolution of the Sikh religious body</b>
<b>Gursikh</b>	<b>Follower of the Guru</b>
<b>Harimandir</b>	<b>The abode of God    The name given to the Golden Temple at Amritsar</b>
<b>Jagir</b>	<b>Landed property</b>
<b>Jatha</b>	<b>Band</b>
<b>Kachha</b>	<b>Short pants</b>
<b>Kada</b>	<b>Bangle</b>
<b>Kafi</b>	<b>Poetic measure popularised by mystics in the Punjab</b>
<b>Kalma</b>	<b>The holy word</b>
<b>Kangha</b>	<b>Comb</b>
<b>Kesh</b>	<b>Hair</b>
<b>Khadj</b>	<b>Homespun cotton</b>

<b>Khanda</b>	A double-edged weapon
<b>Kikar</b>	Acacia Arabica, a tree common throughout the Punjab
<b>Kirpan</b>	Dagger
<b>Kripa</b>	Goodwill
<b>Langar</b>	Common kitchen
<b>Lathi</b>	Sick
<b>Manji</b>	Seat
<b>Masiri</b>	Teacher
<b>Miri</b>	Royalty
<b>Misal</b>	Band
<b>Mohur</b>	Gold coin
<b>Mool Mantra</b>	Basic postulate
<b>Morcha</b>	Agitation
<b>Mufti</b>	Magistrate
<b>Mussali</b>	A low-caste among the Indian Muslims
<b>Pangat</b>	Eating together
<b>Panj Pyare</b>	The Five Beloveds who offered themselves to be martyred by Guru Gobind Singh
<b>Patashaa</b>	Sugarcandy
<b>Patwari</b>	A village-level functionary who keeps land records
<b>Piri</b>	Renunciation
<b>Qazi</b>	Judge
<b>Rabab</b>	String instrument popular in the North-West of India
<b>Rag</b>	Musical form
<b>Raj</b>	Rule
<b>Sacha Padshah</b>	True King
<b>Sadhokari</b>	Link language popularised by yogis in the North in the sixteenth century
<b>Saje</b>	Established
<b>Sangat</b>	Congregation
<b>Sarbat Khala</b>	Assembly of the Sikhs
<b>Sardar</b>	Leader
<b>Sarega</b>	Gift in recognition of merit
<b>Sati</b>	Immolation
<b>Satnam</b>	God is truth
<b>Sehi topi</b>	A consecrated headgear

Shabad	Holy word
Shahidi Jatha	A band of volunteers pledged to be martyred
Shahkh	Muslim caste
Shakti	Power
Shariat	Muslim law
Shikar	Hunting expedition
Siddhas	Hindu ascetics
Siharfi	Acrostic
Sikka	Coin
Sloka	Short poetic measure
Sufi	A mystic
Swadeshi	Indigenous
Swalya	A poetic form
Tegh	Sword
Var	Ballad
Wallallah	Beloved of God
Yunani	Greek—A system of medicine





## INDEX

- Abdul Rehman 64  
 Agra 33  
 Ahmed Shah Abdali 63, 69  
 Ajit Singh 44  
 Akal Takht 62, 63, 66  
 Akali Dal 85, 88  
   —govt 96  
   —Movement 78  
   —Phula Singh 62  
   —Sikhs 81  
 Akalis 12  
 Akbar 25, 26, 28, 29, 55, 56  
 Ali Brothers 77  
 Allah 20  
 Amarnath temple 41  
 America 74  
*amrit* 47, 51  
 Amritsar 26, 27, 31, 36, 37, 57, 63, 66, 67  
 Anandpur 43, 44  
 Ang 23  
*arati* 17  
 Arst 67  
*Asa di Var* 22  
*Ashtrapadi* 22, 60  
 Assam 16, 44  
 Attock river 36  
 Aurangzeb 40, 50, 59,  
   —his death 52  
 Azizuddin 69  
  
 Baba Atal 39  
 Baba Gurdit Singh 74, 75  
 Baba Kharak Singh 72, 77, 82  
 Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna 75  
 Babar 9, 23  
   —his invasion of India 19  
   *Babarvani* 19  
   *The Babbar Akali Doaba* 82  
 Badshahi Masjid 64  
 Baghdad 16  
 Bahadur Shah 52  
 Bahawalpur 65  
 Baisakhi day, 1919 76  
 Baisakhi fair, 1699 44  
 Bala, author of *Janam Sakhi*  
   *Bhai Bala* 13  
 Baldev Singh 72  
 Balwant Gargi 93  
*Bandi Chhor* 35  
 Banke Dyal 73  
*Baramah* 22  
 Beas 25  
 Beatty, S. G.N. 80  
 Bengali films 97  
 Beni 54  
 Bhagbhari 35  
 Bhai Budha 31  
 Bhai Gurdas 21, 57  
 Bhai Lalo 18  
 Bhakti Movement 22, 31  
 Bhangra 96  
 Bhani, daughter of Guru Amar  
   *Das* 34  
 Bhawani Das 68  
 Bhikan 54  
 Bibi Nanaki 14  
 Bokhara 43  
 Books, number published 96  
 Boundary Commission 88  
 Brahmi script 91  
 Brig-Gen. Edward Harry Dyer 77  
 British Government 75  
   —King 76

- Parliament 87  
 Buddha 19  
 Buddhism 9  
 Budh Singh 63  
 Bulkh 43  
 Buta Singh 72
- C. F. Andrews 77, 81  
 C. R. Das 77  
 C. Rajagopalachari 86  
 Caesar, Augustus 66  
 Calcutta 75  
 Canada 74  
 Central Hindu Raj 88  
 Chandu Shah 33, 34  
 Charhat Singh 64  
 Chengiz Khan 88  
 Chet Singh 64  
 Chhaya 57  
*Chhanda* 22, 60  
 Chief Khalsa Diwan 85  
 Christianity 9  
 Christians 14  
 Commonwealth 75  
 Congress govt 96  
 Cripps mission 84, 86  
 Czarist regime, overthrow of 76
- Dalla, a local chief 51  
 Damdama Sahib 50, 51  
 Dara Shikoh 40, 41  
 Darshan Singh Pheruman 82  
 Data Ganj Baksh's mausoleum 70  
 Daya Ram 45  
 Delhi 40, 41  
 —Darbar 40  
 Dera Ghazi Khan 65  
 Dera Ismail Khan 65  
 Devendra Satyarthi 93  
 Dham Ram 'Chatrik' 92  
 Dhanna 54  
*dharna* 43  
 Dhian Singh Dogra 66, 69
- Dilbagh (charger) 37  
*Doha* 72  
 Duni Chand 44
- East Punjab 89  
 —granary of India 89
- Fakir Azizuddin 62, 66, 67  
 Fakir Syed Waheeduddin 67  
 Farid 54  
 Fateh Singh 44  
*fatwa* 42  
 Feroze Khan Noon 88  
*ferrugli* 74, 83  
 Five Faithfuls 46, 47  
 Sir Francis Mudie 88
- Gatha* 60  
 General Ghaus Khan 69  
*The Ghadar* 74  
 Ghadar Party 76, 82  
 Giani Gurmukh Singh 'Musafir'  
 72, 80, 82  
 Giani Kartar Singh 87  
 Giani Zail Singh 72  
 Gondwal 25, 56  
 Golden Temple 27, 31, 78, 81  
 Gorakh Nath 16  
 Gorakhmata 16  
 Great Britain 88  
 Great October Revolution of 1917  
 76
- Gulbagh (charger) 37  
 Gurdas of Awadh 54  
 Gurdial Singh Dhillon 72  
 Gurdwara Bangla Sahib 11  
 Gurdwara Rakab Ganj 78  
 Gurdwara Reform Movement 78  
 Gurdwaras 11  
 Gurmukhi script 24, 55, 66, 91,  
 92, 94  
 Guru Amar Das 24, 25, 26, 27, 56  
 Guru Angad 21, 23, 24, 56, 91

- Guru Arjan Dev 28, 30, 31, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 80, 91  
 Guru Gobind Singh 11, 30, 39, 41, 43, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 57, 59, 77, 85  
*Guru Granth* 53  
 Guru Har Rai 38, 39, 40, 59  
 Guru Hargobind 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38  
 Guru Harkrishan 40  
*Guru ka Langar* 20, 79, 81, 82  
 Guru Nanak 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 30, 31, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 79, 94, 95, 99  
 Guru Ram Das 26, 27, 56  
 Guru Tegh Bahadur 40, 41, 42, 44, 57, 59, 80  
 Gwalior Fort 34  
  
 Hakim Ajmal Khan 77  
 Hakim Nuruddin 64  
 Halaku 88  
 Hardwar 13  
 Hargobindpur 37  
 Hari Singh Nalwa 69  
*Harimandir* 27, 57, 69  
 Harnam Das Sehrai 93  
 Havildar Major Kishan Singh Bedang 82  
 Himalayas 9, 16  
 Himmatt Chand 46  
 Hinduism 14, 30, 54  
 Hindus 11, 61  
 Hindustani music 22  
 Holy Granth 28, 29, 31, 32, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 67, 97  
 Holy Mecca 9, 10  
*Holy Quran* 93  
 —MS of 67  
 Holy Temple 29  
 Hong Kong 74  
 Hukam Singh 72  
 Humayun 23  
 I. C. Nanda 92  
 Ilahi Baksh 65, 69  
 Imramuddin 69  
 Indian National Congress 77, 80  
 Indian Union 86  
 Indira Gandhi 9  
 Islam 9, 14, 30, 43, 54  
 Jagannath temple, Puri 16  
 Jagannathpuri 46  
*Jagir* 26, 27, 65  
 Jaidev of Bengal 54  
 Jainism 9  
*Jaifo Morcha* 81  
 Jalkanwala Bagh 71, 77  
 —tragedy 88  
 Jammu 65, 70  
*Janam Sakhi Bhai Bala* 13  
 Janata govt 96  
 Jaswant Rai 93  
*Jathra* 78, 80  
 Jawaharlal Nehru 9, 77, 81, 82  
 Jawand Singh 74  
 Jehangir 28, 29, 32, 33, 36  
 Jinnah 86  
 —Governor General of Pakistan 88  
 Jiwan 17  
 Jyhar Singh 44  
  
 Kaaba 15, 17  
 Kabir 54  
 Kabul 15, 36, 37, 43, 44, 62, 65  
*Kachha* 48  
*Kada* 48  
*Kafi* 22  
 Kahna 57  
 Kale Khan 38  
 Kalyug 41

- kalma* 15  
*Kamagata Maru* episode 74, 75  
 Kandahar 43  
*Kangha* 48  
 Kangra 70  
 Kanhyas 63  
 Kannada films 97  
 Kartar Singh 'Sarabha' 74  
 Kartarpur 20, 37  
 Kashmir 16, 29, 35, 41  
 —annexed by Ranjit Singh 90  
 Raitu Shah 35, 36  
 Kaulsar 39  
*kazi* 64, 69  
*Kesh* 48  
 Khadur 23  
 Khalid Husain 93  
 Khalistan 98  
*Khalsa* 10, 12, 47, 48, 66, 73, 81  
 —its birth 43  
*Khanda* 47  
 Kharoshthi 91  
*Khulafat* 71  
 Khurasan 19  
 Khushal Singh 69  
 Khushwant Singh 96  
 —his *History of the Sikhs* 20  
*Kikar* trees 79  
 King of Iran 36  
 Kurpa Sagar 41, 92  
 Krishan Khanna 96  
 Krishna 11, 54, 93  
 Krishna Baldev Vaid 96  
 Krishna Sobti 96  
 Kukas 73  
  
 Lahore 25, 28, 36, 45, 63, 64, 65, 70, 73.  
 Lakshadweep 15  
 Lala Hardyai 74  
 Lala Lajpat Rai 84, 77  
*Langar* 25, 26  
  
 Lehna 23  
 Lehndi 90  
  
 Dr M A Ansari 77  
 Machhiwada jungle 49  
 Madan Mohan Malaviya 77, 80  
 Madras 76  
 Mahant 79  
 Mahant Naram Das 78  
 Mahant Sundar Das 79  
*mahants* 78  
 Maharaja Ranjit Singh 12, 62, 65, 67, 68, 70  
 Mahatma Gandhi 9, 71, 77, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86  
 Mahavira 19  
 Mahiab Kaur 63  
 Majha 90  
 Malayalam films 97  
 Malik Bhago 18  
 Malla Singh Sakarchakya 63  
 Malu Shah 23  
 Malwa 90  
 Manasarovar 9, 16  
 Mandalay 74  
 Mangal Singh 72  
*manjis* 25  
 Mankera 65  
 Marathi films 97  
 Mardana, Muslim rabab-player 13, 16  
 Masands 37  
 Master Mota Singh 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 98  
 Mata Saheb Devan 77  
 Dr Mathura Singh 74  
*Maulvi* 14, 18  
 Mecca 13, 17  
 Medina 13  
 Mian Ghausi 65  
 Mian Mir 27, 29  
 —his shrine 78  
 Sir Michael O'Dwyer 78

- Mira 11  
*misals* 66  
 Mistr Diwan Chand 65, 69  
 Moga 87  
 Mohan, Mohri, sons of Guru Amar Das 46  
 Dr Mohinder P. Kohli 93  
 Mohkam Chand from Dwarka 45  
 Moran 70  
 —courtesan-Queen of Maharaja Ranjit Singh 66  
*Moraulshahi Sikka* 66, 67  
*morcha* 78, 81  
 Motilal Nehru 77  
 Muazzam 41  
*muftis* 64, 68  
 Mughal Court 28, 37  
 —Empire 62  
 —army 38  
 —forces 37, 38  
 —throne 40  
 Mughals 23  
 Muhammad 50  
 Mukhlis Khan 36, 37  
 Dr Mulk Raj Anand 96  
 Musalman 15, 17  
 Muslim League 84, 87, 88  
 Muslims 11, 21, 22, 30, 61, 85, 87  
 Musummun Bury 63  
  
 Nagaland 15  
 Nakkai Sardar 63  
 Namak 58  
 Namdev 54  
 Nanakmata 16  
 Nankana Sahib 75, 78, 79, 88  
 Nawab Muzaffar Khan of Multan 65  
 Nizamuddin 64  
 Nur Jehan 35  
 Nuruddin 69  
  
 Orissa 16, 46  
  
 Pahari 90  
 Painsa Khan 37, 38  
 Pakistan 84, 86, 87, 88, 89  
 Panama 74  
*pangar* 25  
 Parmanand 54  
 Partition 72  
 —of Bengal 71  
*patashas* 47  
 Pathan 13  
 Patna 43  
*patwari* 19  
 Persian 44  
 Persian language 22  
 Persian script 66, 91  
 Peshawar 52, 65  
 Philippines 74  
 'The Pillars of Kingdom' 66  
 Pilu 57  
 Pipa 54  
 Prahlad 11  
 Pratap Singh Kairon 72, 82  
 Prithi Chand 27, 56  
 Publishing in Punjabi 98  
*Punj Piaras* 10  
 Punja Sahib 70  
 Punjab 9, 10  
 Punjab Colonisation Act, 1907 73  
 Punjabi 90, 91, 94  
 Punjabi films 97  
 Punjabi identity 98, 99  
 Punjabi language 12, 92  
 Punjabi Suba 90, 92, 95, 96  
 Punjabi writer 98  
 Puran Bhagat's well 70  
 Puran Singh 11  
 Puri 9, 13  
  
*qazi* 15, 29, 40  
 Quit India agitation 71, 84  
*Quran* 15, 50, 64  
  
*rabab* 16

- Rabindranath Tagore 77  
 Radcliffe Award 83  
 Radha 93  
 Radio 97  
*Rag Mala* 58  
*Ragas* 22, 57, 60  
 Raj Kaur 63  
 Rajasihan 70  
 Rajinder Singh Bedi 96  
 Ram 20  
 Ram Rai 59  
 Ram Singh 69  
 Ram Singh, leader of the Kukas 73  
 Ramananda 54  
*Ramayana* 93  
 Ramsar 57  
 Ratan Lal 44  
 Ravi 20, 29  
 Ravidas 54  
 Rawalpindi 73  
*The Real Ranjit Singh* 69  
 Registrar of Newspapers 97  
 Dr Roshan Lal Ahuja 93  
 Round Table Conferences 84  
  
 S Baldev Singh 88  
*Sacha Padshah* 32  
 Sada Kaur 63  
 Sadhna 54  
*Sadhukari* 22  
 Sahib Chand of Bidar 46  
 Sahib Dayal 55  
 Said Khan 68  
 Said Satia 24  
 Saidpur 18  
 Sain 54  
 San Francisco 74  
*sangots* 21, 25  
 Sanskrit 13, 26, 44  
*Sarbat Khalsa* 63, 66  
*Sardar* 38  
 Sardar Ajit Singh 74  
  
 Sardar Gurdial Singh Dhillon 82  
 Sardar Hukam Singh Chimni 68  
 Sardar Lacchman Singh 79  
 Sardar Sardul Singh 'Caveeshar'  
     72, 77, 78, 82  
*saropa* 78  
*Sat Nam Sri Waiguru* 26  
 Satish Gujral 96  
 Satta 26  
 Salyagraha 76, 79, 80  
 Secularism 9, 62  
*seli* 31  
*Shabad* 60  
 Shah Abdul Mah, his mausoleum  
     65  
 Shah Jehan 36, 40  
 Shah Zaman 63, 64  
*shahidi jatha* 78  
*shakti* 31  
 Sham Singh Attariwala 69  
 Shanghai 74  
*shariat* laws 68  
 Shastras 13  
*Sheikhs* 18  
 Sher Shah 23  
 Sher Singh 69  
*shikar* 44, 46  
 Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak  
     Committee 82  
 Shiv Kumar Batalvi 93  
*Siddhas* 13  
*Sihorji* 22  
 Sikh Gurus 12  
 Sikh League 77  
 Sikh Missionary College 85  
*Sikh Panth* 53  
 Sikh refugees 89  
 Sikhism 9  
 Sikhs 10, 11, 12, 40, 50, 51, 54,  
     56, 61, 72, 85, 87  
     in Lyallpur 88  
 Sind 62

- Slaka* 22, 23, 60  
 Sohan Singh Bhakna 74  
 Sohan Singh 'Josh' 72, 82  
 Sovereign Sikh State 87  
 Sri Lanka 15, 56  
 Srinagar 35, 36, 65  
 Sir Stafford Cripps 85, 87  
 Subhash Chandra Bose 72  
*sufis* 21  
 Sultanpur 19  
 —Nawab of 14  
 Sutlej 62  
*Swadeshi* Movement 71, 73  
*Swalyas* 60  
 Swaran Singh 72  
*Syeds* 18  
 TV 97  
 Talwandi Sabo 50  
 Taran Taran 87  
 Teja Singh, Sikh scholar 90  
 Thailand 74  
 Tibet 62  
*The Tribune* 12  
 Trilochan 54  
*Tunda Asraja* 23  
 Turks 10, 13  
 USSR 76  
 Urdu 91, 92  
 Dr V N Tiwari 93  
 Vancouver 75  
*Var* 23, 60  
 Varanasi 13  
 Vedas 13  
 Vincent Smith 65, 66  
*Waliullah* 15  
 West Punjab 88, 92  
 World War I 83  
 World War II 69, 83, 84  
 Yokohama 75  
*Yunani* dispensaries 64  
*Zafar Nama* 49  
 Zorawar Singh 44  
 Zoroastrianism 9







*Without communal harmony no social or political progress can be achieved in a multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-racial country like India. All great religions are based on the concept of universal brotherhood. This lucidly written book, discussing one such religion, the Sikhism, in the context of its secular perceptions, is intended principally for the lay reader and contributes to the understanding of an important trait in India's national fabric.*

K. S. Duggal, recipient of several important literary awards including the Sahitya Akademi Award and the Soviet Land Nehru Award, is a well known poet, novelist and short story writer. He is a former Director of the National Book Trust, India.

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